

# The Woman's Protest

AGAINST WOMAN SUFFRAGE

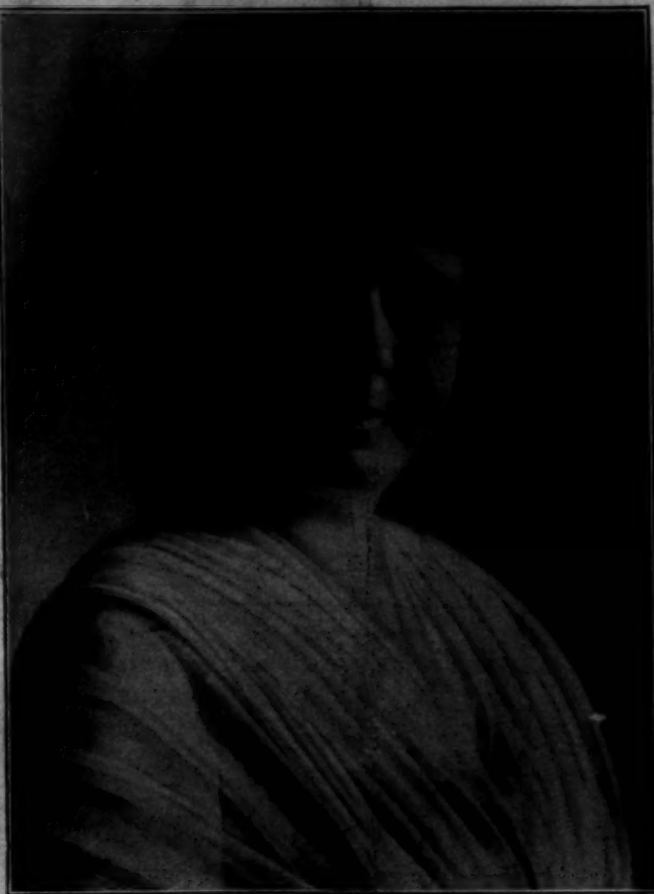
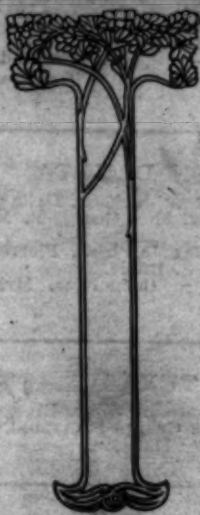
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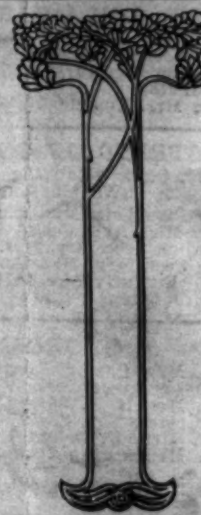
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MRS. THOS. J. PRESTON, JR.  
First Vice-President New Jersey Association Opposed  
to Woman Suffrage.



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## MRS. THOMAS J. PRESTON, JR.

WE present on the cover of this month's issue the picture of Mrs. Thomas J. Preston, Jr., of Princeton, the First Vice-President of the New Jersey Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage. While Mrs. Preston's life in Washington's official circles was not of as great duration as that of Mrs. Wadsworth or Mrs. Lansing, she spent six years in the White House, the wife of the chief executive of the land. Never did the Capital City welcome a more gracious woman as its leader than Frances Folsom Cleveland. Her high ideals, her womanly personality, her superb motherhood, together with her influential position have exerted an influence upon the country second to that of no other woman who ever occupied the White House.

It is too little to say of her that the world is better because she has lived in it.

To-day there are but three ex-Presidents' wives living. Of these, two, Mrs. Preston and Mrs. Taft, are members of the Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage. And it is quite generally true that the women who have been most influential in official circles, those whose lives have largely been spent in the atmosphere of national politics, have for the most part recognized the fact that politics is the province of men and that woman's work is better done if she may pursue it untrammelled by expedients and subterfuges which political life demands.

The throne is an exalted position, but the power behind the throne is more effectual still.

## THE WANE OF FEMINISM

By MRS. JAMES W. WADSWORTH, JR.

WHAT we term the reactions of the great war—the purge and purifying through its agony—appeals to most of us as its ultimate and only compensation. In the cure of so many of civilization's ills we believe will be included a wholesome adjustment of the "woman question."

The complicated hysteria that has found vent in a "cause" culminating in woman's militancy, will no longer be dignified by high-sounding names. A spade will be called a spade, and the doctrine of "sex equality" will be recognized for the unnatural abnormal thing it is.

Woman's star of destiny shines far above and beyond the field of politics. American women to-day are placing their feet upon the first rung of the dual ladder of humility and fidelity, leading upward to immortal regions. The nagging methods of suffrage propaganda, the suffrage doctrine's inherent indictment of manhood, its self-exaltation and self-glorification, its endless abuse of men and praise of themselves, were a phase—and a symptom—of the sick era that is behind us. Perhaps only war could have effected the cure. Women are going to forget themselves, and forgetting, find themselves. In the rebirth of the world there will be no place for a masculinized womanhood and an effeminized manhood.

To a blasé world that had run the gamut of all available emotions, the feminist offered excitement, ginger, "pep." A jaded world welcomes any stimulant. Only a diagnostician saw anything sinister in the statement of the national suffrage leader, at a meeting in Cooper Union: "I ask you, has anything ever been achieved without pestering? The barons pestered King George for independence. We will continue to pester." Also from the same suffrage source we were told, anent Congress: "The female of the species has affrighted the great men on the hill."

That Mrs. Catt characterized modern women by the phrase which we associate with the unlovely side of womanhood, the side that is hard, bitter, implacable, crafty, held a deadly significance. It needs only a little psychology to know that the exaltation of a type makes that type dominant. The whole future of the race is involved in the issue of woman suffrage *versus* woman's dignity.

In a book entitled "Organizing to Win by the Political District Plan—A Handbook for Working Suffragists," by H. B. Laidlaw, suffrage law is thus laid down: "Any unusual occasion, \* \* \* a TRAGEDY or a CRISIS, should be seized upon by suffragists to drive home the suffrage lesson."

So—definitely and without qualification—the sudden accession of "patriotism" among suffragists is illuminated. The greatest tragedy in the history of the world is now being "seized upon" for suffrage. But when suffragists masquerade as patriots, doing self-denying work for their country, they are acting on the assumption that the public has a very, very short memory. At the beginning of the European war in 1914 the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, then under

the presidency of Mrs. Arthur M. Dodge, suggested a truce on woman suffrage in order that all women might unite for the Red Cross and other relief organizations. The suggestion was rejected by their opponents, and the suffrage campaigns carried on with more intensity than ever. At the annual convention of the State Suffrage Association held in New York City, December 1, 1915, Mrs. Catt was reported to have said: "Have a printed card to give to people who ask you to do any other work, saying that on account of the deferred enfranchisement of women you must refuse." Let the card say further: "We are obliged to give ourselves and our money to the suffrage work. Won't you help us so that we can the sooner help you? Let us take this little button (pointing to the one she was wearing) and make its slogan our own: 'Suffrage First.'"

At a hearing on the suffrage bill before the House Committee on Judiciary, only a few months ago, Miss Lucy Burns said: "It is astonishing that we should be asked to do Red Cross work. \* \* \* Suffrage comes first, and we must devote all our efforts toward freeing the women of the United States."

When our ships were being sunk, our citizens massacred at sea, our rights ignored, our national dignity scorned, not one prominent suffragist declared herself for preparedness or against a dishonorable peace. Practically every pacifist, man or woman, is a well-known suffragist. The socialists, the I. W. W., the feminists, all the pernicious groups that exalt "class" instead of "country," are allies of woman suffrage.

The morning after the Maine defeat Mrs. Catt asserted that suffrage is never settled until it is settled affirmatively. At the Saratoga suffrage convention she predicted that woman suffrage would be established in the United States within two years, by means of a Federal amendment.

Suffrage organizations—militant and otherwise—are concentrating upon the Federal amendment. That method of gaining suffrage, in the face of thirteen overwhelming defeats at popular elections during the past four years, would be a perversion of the Constitution and of democracy.

Through a combination of magnetic or plausible leaders and the instinct of men to yield to the importunities of women, the suffragists hope to succeed; and this method would become a precedent for every repudiated "cause"—every freak cult to be forced on the public.

Through slow and laborious processes democracy has erected a strong safeguard against oppression by the few, namely, the right reserved to the people to vote directly upon any proposal affecting the fundamental principles of government. To use the Federal power to defeat the people's will on so revolutionary a question as woman's enfranchisement, would be bad enough; but to subject one State to the dictation of another; to force the people of New York, for instance, to abrogate the right of self-government in accordance with the wishes of the people of Montana, would make the Federal Government the instrument of tyranny.

This anti-democratic maneuver for a Federal amendment, being the avowed aim to-day of suffrage organizations, it is plain that the popular cry of "democracy" has been adopted merely in line with the policy of utilizing "any unusual occasion or event, a TRAGEDY OR A CRISIS" to "drive home the suffrage lesson."



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## AGAINST WOMAN SUFFRAGE

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The Woman's Protest invites letters from its readers.

There are even greater words than Liberty, Equality and Rights. Lacordaire, during the revolution in France, dared to say to his countrymen: "You have written upon the monuments of your city the words Liberty, Fraternity, Equality. Above Liberty write Duty, above Fraternity write Humility, above Equality write Service, above the immemorial creed of your Rights inscribe the divine creed of your Duties."

### POLITICS AND WAR.

IT is striking and significant that nearly every great issue and form of government has been decided by force and on the field of battle, and not by "dropping a piece of paper in a ballot box," as the suffragists say. The North could have voted against the secession of the South, but bullets instead of ballots decided the issue at Gettysburg. Likewise, all France might have voted against its present invasion, but it will be the caliber of cannon and the fighting ability of its men that determines its final ability to vote on anything.

Governor Whitman of New York is reported as recently declaring that the service women are now rendering the country ought to still forever "the anti-suffrage argument that women should not vote because they cannot serve in war." If any such anti-suffrage argument was ever made it has escaped the knowledge of any anti-suffragist. The proposition that women do not serve in war unless they join firing lines is a suffrage fiction on a par with the proposition that a woman is not a citizen unless she votes. The trouble is that the suffragists want to serve, both in war and government, EXACTLY THE SAME AS MEN DO. When the Mexican imbroglio was on the women of Colorado said they would raise a regiment for service over the Rio Grande—but when the State started civil war in the mining districts of their own commonwealth they sent for Federal soldiers. Likewise, the militants of England have recently been trying to organize a volunteer rifle corps of women to take part in the war—but it is unlikely that they will ever join the line of battle, for even the militants have sense enough left to perceive the folly of advocating "equality" for women under gunfire. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, editor of the suffrage organ, *Votes for Women*, declares: "The moral immunity of all women in civilized nations from the terrible duty of organized murder is too great a boon to the whole world to be placed in jeopardy. The recognition of women as non-combatants is the one area of sanctuary redeemed from the field of universal slaughter." In commenting on this, an American suffrage writer fully indorses its truth. "It is indeed true," she

says, "that if women were placed in the ranks to kill and be killed the demoralization of the nations would be complete, and it would be better for the world to relapse into the chaos from which it emerged."

And yet the women have succeeded in remaining away from firing lines in most of the wars of history. How? By ballots, by demanding absolute "equality" in everything? No, but by the moral influence that safeguards women where the lives of men count for nothing, the same old "indirect" influence that the suffragists laugh at. They believe a woman without a vote is helpless. They call her a "slave." And yet it is not the women who are drafted into armies and made to fight each other, but the men, the voters. This would indicate that woman's service in war is far greater than man's, for she not only succeeds in keeping herself and children out of the fray, but she helps to alleviate the sufferings of men, to nurse the wounded, and do the necessary work to preserve civilization while the soldier, the real war "slave," does the active fighting.

The suffragists don't want to join the firing lines. Oh, no; they prefer the "moral immunity" from the "terrible duty" of serving as soldiers—but they wish to do the voting that expresses opinions they are not able to defend. They want the so-called "human right" to vote on every question that arises in government. The "one man, one vote" principle at the bottom of democratic government, built on the historical experience that "one man is one gun" in war, they want to translate into "women demand the ballot" but refuse to face the bullet.

If 1,200 men voted for a principle they consider vital and 600 men and 1,000 women voted against it, how could the majority enforce its opinion? The 1,600 men and women could not meet the 1,200 men in battle and win, and yet if the 1,000 women all voted for the measure the 600 men have to defend, would they not logically and morally be bound to join them in the contest? But supposing the 1,000 women do not vote and do not fight. Is it not true that they not only escape a useless burden, that would not make any difference in the decision, but they preserve their own status as non-combatants and non-partisans? And if they cannot preserve peace they can at least modify war, make the victor kinder to the vanquished—and keep themselves and children out of battles and bloodshed. Why does not Mrs. Pethick Lawrence see further than her fingers, and by putting the words "political war" in her sentence make it represent a recognized and universal truth? Then she would say: "The moral immunity of all women in civilized nations from the terrible duty of organized murder"—and political war—"is too great a boon to the whole world to be placed in jeopardy."

Is there anything more significant than the fact that the terrible Battalion of Death—and the English militants—whose war-like campaigns are history—are the only women who have proposed women regiments? Of course, Dr. Anna Howard Shaw says she would like to be a policeman. Other feminists would like to be everything from bootblacks to President—rather than what nature made them, namely, women. A "policeman" in skirts would have rather a nice time persuading desperate criminals to go to jail. One of them in Chicago some time ago threatened to resign unless the captain of the district had her escorted home by a man when she was on duty after dark! And when they attempted to arrest striking waitresses in that city the women "cops" had to be removed by the chief of police to prevent riot "a la Pankhurst."

How many women who live in Western States have seen the sheriff come around with a list of registered voters in order to collect a posse to capture outlaws? How many women want to get on such a list? How many want to serve on juries or to be called upon by policemen to assist in arresting criminals.

Yes, there are a few—and they all heartily believe in "votes for women." The kind of woman who wants to become a politician and a policeman wants to be everything a man is—except a soldier. But where is she going to draw the line? The line at the polls is an emblem of the firing line. It is the proper place



to designate the difference in duties and responsibilities that exist between man and woman.

And it is the only chance the world has for peace. Militarism, despotism and socialism have all proved unable to preserve peace in the hands of men who have votes and arms both. Likewise, militancy, discontent and suffrage agitation will forever prevent women from attaining the unity, moral influence and non-partizanship that alone can guarantee permanent peace.

#### THE RIGHTS OF WOMEN IN GOVERNMENT.

THE "rights of women" is no new theme. The centuries before the Christian era saw many agitations on this subject whose history reads like modern feminism. Tibetan women won their "freedom" so long ago that the record is lost in hazy tradition; the Amazons, whether fabled or historic, were familiar to writers when Greece was young. And Rome, in the days of Cato, debated with much heat as to the advisability of extending further political duties and responsibilities to the fair sex.

Those who cite women like Jane Addams, Katherine B. Davis, Ella Flagg Young and Julia Lathrop as instances of where the feminine brain has proved "equal" to man's, forget Sappho, Xanthippe, Catherine of Russia and Queen Victoria as having demonstrated this proposition throughout the ages. Even the Old Testament, which was once considered so prejudiced against women that suffragists had to compile a "Woman's Bible," records the deeds of Esther and Judith with as much reverence and detail as it describes the lives of Noah and David.

Anyone who imagines that women have been "inferior" to men from the time of the Deluge up to the "emancipation of women" in Wyoming in 1869 must severely close his eyes to history. Also if he imagines that with the advent of woman suffrage "freedom and equality" have been the lot of women in the few States where they have the almighty ballot, he must ignore the history of comparative legislation for the last forty-five years.

But just what are the rights of women? "Life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" was thought to represent the ideal of constitutional rights when our democracy was founded. It is doubtful if any improvement on that definition can well be made. Women, in common with men, have their lives, liberties and properties safeguarded by government. Practically every law on the statute books that applies to the protection of men includes women under its beneficent provisions. In addition, thousands of laws have been passed giving special privileges and rights to women that men do not share. Eight-hour laws, regulations for rest-periods, provisions against constant standing and night work, are instances of legislation designed especially for feminine workers.

In the marriage relationship, as well as in every other contract, or implied contract, between man and woman, the mass of legislation is nearly always in favor of the mother, the wife, the woman.

Women have advantages in their rights to support, regardless of any service they may or may not perform. In how many States can a man sell his homestead without his wife's signature? And yet, when he gives her property, it is usually safe from seizure for debt, although the debts might have been contracted to buy her Paris gowns or pearl necklaces!

A woman's rights before the law are not only equal, but in many respects superior to those of a man. She has many special privileges. The few miscarriages of justice that allow her to abuse these privileges are deplorable, and should be corrected, not by taking away the protection that she needs, but by keeping it sound and practical. The wife must be supported financially by the husband, regardless of the occasional abuses, for the majority of wives and mothers must necessarily confine their work to occupations that have little money-earning value, but are of paramount importance to the success of the State and the preservation of the race.

The good mother and wife who carefully expends a man's income on a well-kept home and rears their children to noble citizenship is no more supported by her husband than he is by her. Hundreds of thousands of business partnerships exist where one man makes and one man sells the product. Does the man who does not take in the money consider himself supported by the other? Hardly.

Women and men must be partners, and they are equal, with whatever balance of leisure, opportunity and special privilege that exists credited on the woman's side of the account.

Men and women of civilized races build homes, individual homes, because they have become a necessity in the pursuit of happiness. The woman who helps build homes from the inside is performing as noble a work as the man who helps build homes from the outside with money and material. She is just as necessary to her race as the bird that builds a nest and hatches its young while food is brought by its mate. Talk of "equality" is idle unless it means the extension by suffragists and feminists of an equality in dignity and honor to the woman who makes a home on a par with the worship of the man's activities that provide for it. This is the equality that women want from that small minority of other women who seek to prove woman's inferiority because she is not a counterpart of man. They would have women vote, and work, and play politics "just like a man," for no better reason than that a few women who despise their sex and calling seek the pursuit of happiness in aping the ways of a man. No argument has even been advanced that can convince these women that the "liberties" they seek are the very things that women have worked to be relieved of from the dawn of civilization. Does anyone seriously believe that woman, who had all Greece fighting her battles with Troy thousands of years before feminism was heard of, has been deprived of the ballot by anyone's will but her own? In Adam's day, or perhaps before, women had to fight for their rights on a dead level of equality with men. In the lowest forms of savagery, women gained freedom from the line of battle, and took up the hewing of wood and the drawing of water while the men did the hunting and warring. The women of such tribes are chiefly noticeable by their marked inferiority in size to men, caused by too much hard labor. The Iggorotes furnish a good example, in which the reflex effect is shown on the dwarfing of the males as well. The higher the civilization, the more freedom women have secured from the hardships of life, the more opportunities they have in turn been afforded to encourage peace, art and the formation of homes. Physicians and scientists are just beginning to notice how much larger and more robust the modern woman is than her grandmother—mainly because she gets rest and exercise that the old-time civilization could not give her grandmother.

And now, after the women of the civilized world have almost won freedom from the hardest labor, and the opportunity to develop the ideals of a better democracy, in which the full rights and privileges of women are always safeguarded, a small minority of misguided women attempt to tell us that we must face about. The differentiation of sex and the division of labor must be abolished. If a man votes, so must a woman, every woman, whether she likes it or not—and this they tell us is progress! The same kind of progress would put the women of Europe on the firing lines in the present war—but what of the future generation, the women of to-morrow?

A woman has a right to her own work, the destiny of her nature, which is equal to but different from man's. A thousand years of talk does not alter the fact that women are the mothers of the race and physically unfit to bear every hardship man must shoulder, and then bear another generation besides. For every woman three children at least must be born in order that the race may continue. She cannot do a man's work and perform this mission well. It is physically impossible to her. She is man's comrade and partner in the pursuit of happiness—not his imitator and competitor in the partizanship of politics and war.



## THE DEMOCRACY IN RUSSIA WHICH SUFFRAGISTS LAUD

By RHETA CHILDE DORR in the *Evening Mail*

THE New York *Evening Mail* of September 26th, prints an article from the pen of Mrs. Rheta Childe Dorr, a leading suffragist and socialist, who took part in the militant raids in England under Mrs. Pankhurst, who went to prison with her, who has been one of the most earnest advocates of militancy in this country, a feminist and a revolutionist. This article, parts of which we reproduce below, is surely illuminating in the face of Mrs. Catt's declaration that the United States was far behind Russia in democracy.

Mrs. Dorr writes:

"Five months ago I went to Russia, eager to see again, in the hour of her deliverance, a country in whose struggle for freedom I had, for a dozen years, been deeply interested.

"I went to Russia a socialist by conviction, an ardent sympathizer with revolution, having known personally some of the brave men and women who suffered imprisonment and exile after the failure of the uprising in 1905-6.

"I have returned from Russia with the very clear conviction that the world will have to wait awhile before it can establish any co-operative millenniums, or before it can safely hand over the work of government to the man in the street.

"All my life I have been an admiring student of the French revolution, and I have fervently wished that I might have lived in the Paris of that time, to witness, even as a humble spectator, the downfall of autocracy and the birth of a people's liberty.

"Well—I have lived for three months in the capital of revolutionary Russia.

"I have seen a revolution which presents the most amazing parallels with the French revolution, both in men and events. I have seen the downfall of autocracy and the birth of liberty much greater than the French ever aspired to. I have seen the fondest dream of the socialists suddenly come true, and the dream turned out to be a nightmare, such as I pray that this or any country may forever be spared.

"I saw a people delivered from one class tyranny deliberately hasten to establish another, quite as brutal and as unmindful of the common good as the old one. I saw these people, led out of groaning bondage, use their first liberty to oust the wise and courageous statesmen who had delivered them.

"I saw a working class which had been oppressed under czarism itself turn oppressor; an army that had been starved and betrayed use its freedom to starve and betray its own people. I saw elected delegates to the people's councils turn into sneak thieves and looters. I saw law and order and decency and all regard for human life or human rights set aside, and I saw responsible statesmen in power allow all this to go on, allow their country to rush toward an abyss of ruin and shame because they were afraid to lose popularity with the mob.

"The government has been so afraid of losing the support of the mob that it has permitted the country to be overrun by German agents posing as socialists. These agents have spent fortunes in the separate peace propaganda alone. They have demoralized the army, corrupted the workers in fields and factories, and put machine guns in the hands of fanatical dreamers, sending them out into the streets to murder their own friends and neighbors.

### CAN'T ESTABLISH DEMOCRACY

"Every one knew who these men were, but the mob liked their 'line of talk' and the government was afraid to touch them. After the last occasion when, at their behest, the Bolsheviks went out and shot up Petrograd, Lenine, the arch leader, and some

of his principal gangsters deemed it the part of discretion to retire from Russia temporarily, and they got to Sweden without the slightest difficulty, no attempt having been made to stop them. Some of the minor employees of the Kaiser were arrested, among them a woman in whose name the bank account appeared to be. But she, too, and probably all the others, were later released.

"A government like this cannot bring peace and order into a distracted nation. It cannot establish a democracy. It cannot govern. The sooner the allied countries realize this the better it will be for Russia and for the world that wants peace. It is not because I am unfriendly to Russia that I write this. It is because I am friendly, because I have faith in the future of the Russian people, because I believe that their experiment in popular government, if it succeeds, will be as inspiring to the rest of the world as our own was in the eighteenth century.

"I think the most unkind thing any friend of Russia can do is to minimize or conceal the facts about the terrible upheaval going on there at the present time. Russia looks to the American people for help in her troubled hour, and if the American people are to help they will have to understand the situation. No discouragement to the allies, no assistance to the common enemy need result from a plain statement of the facts. The enemy knows all the facts already.

### AMERICA'S RESPONSIBILITY

"Everything I saw in Russia, in the cities and near the front, convinced me that what is going on there vitally concerns us. Every man, woman and child in the United States must get to work to give the help so sorely needed by the allies. Whatever has failed in Russia, whatever has broken down must never be missed. We must supply these deficiencies. Our business now is to understand, and to hurry, hurry, hurry with our task of getting trained and seasoned men into France. After what I saw in the neighborhood of Vilna, Dvinsk and Jacobstadt, I know what haste on this side means to the world.

\* \* \*

### THE BATTALION OF DEATH

"I have traveled in a troop train two days and nights with a regiment of fighting women—the Battalion of Death—and I lived with them in their barrack behind the fighting lines for nine days. I stayed with them until they went into action, and I saw them afterward in the hospitals and heard their own stories of the battle into which they led thousands of reluctant men. I have talked with many soldiers and officers.

"Russia is sick. She is gorged on something she has never known before—freedom: she is sick almost to die with excesses, and the leadership which would bring the panacea is violently thrown aside because suspicion of any authority has bred the worst kind of license.

"Russia is insane; she is not even morally responsible for what she is doing. Will she recover? Yes. But, God! what pain must she bear before she gets real freedom!"

### FINAL VOTE ON SUFFRAGE IN MAINE

PORTLAND, ME., September 26.—The official tabulation of the vote cast in the recent State election, announced to-day, showed that the woman suffrage amendment was defeated by 18,234. The vote on the question of adoption of the amendment was: Yes, 20,604; no, 38,838.



## WOMEN AND THE WAR WORK

**A**N editorial in *Il Giornale Italiano* of New York, of the 14th of July, deals trenchantly with the attempt of the suffragists to turn war conditions to the aid of their propaganda. It says:

"The suffragists are disposed to make of the work of women in the present war another strong argument in favor of the extension of the franchise to women in the election of next November.

"But against this argument, it must be observed that, if the suffragists refer to the work of women in general, they are taking credit for something which does not belong to their faction; and, if they are referring to the work of the suffragists, it has such an imprint of opportune expediency as to be not at all convincing. In the light of this last observation, it is easy to understand that last month, the Elizabeth, N. J., Chapter of the American Red Cross, inspecting certain shirts which the suffragists had offered for the wounded, discovered that upon each shirt was stamped 'Votes for Women.'

"The shirts were refused, very properly, but the incident serves to show that the work of the suffragists is not a spontaneous and natural expression of the social functions of which women are capable; but it is purely an expedient for utilizing conditions created by the war to gain electoral advantage.

"Not pity suggested the gift of the shirts, but the desire to influence some one to vote one way rather than another."

The same article argues that, under normal conditions, the entrance of women into men's occupations is pernicious, for these reasons:

"Woman's work tends to the disadvantage of man's work. The competition of woman in the field of labor has upon the wages of men an influence more disastrously harmful than the competition of Negroes, Chinese or Hindus. The enormous number of women who are working to withdraw themselves from household affairs depreciates female labor. For every woman who works—at a ridiculous wage—there is a man who cannot get himself well-paid and thus is obliged to send his wife also to work. The pay of a man and woman in the same family combined does not exceed what ought to be a fair wage for the man alone, if so many women, with their work, did not depreciate male labor, to the profit of greedy manufacturers and to the detriment of society. The work of women destroys the children."

Confirmation of the last statement is found in recent investigations by the Children's Bureau at Washington of the large infant mortality at Manchester, N. H. It was found that more than one-half of the babies dead during the year were children of fathers who earned less than \$650 a year, and more than one-eighth were children of fathers who earned less than \$450 a year. The mothers of all of these children were employed in industrial work. It was found also that, as the wages of the fathers increase, the number of mothers who work decreases, and the rate of infant mortality drops accordingly. In the group of fathers who earn \$1,050 or more a year, less than one-tenth of the mothers are engaged in work outside the home.

In view of these and similar facts, the entrance of large numbers of women into occupations usually employing men, so far from being evidence of women's progress, as the suffragists regard it, is a deplorable and mischievous condition. So far as the war may make it necessary, it is to be hoped that it may be temporary only. Up to the present time, the demand for women to take the places of men is hardly appreciable. It is exaggerated, for purposes of their own, by some of the newspapers. For example, an illustrated supplement, in some of the Sunday papers, of August 12, shows, in one picture, a "longshore-girl" driving an auto truck loaded with transatlantic cargo; another shows a group of half a dozen "longshoregirls," of whom it is said that they "do not seem to be utterly exhausted. They have been at work—in stogie shoes however—loading a big ship at the — Terminal, where they are learning to operate cranes, derricks and electric winches," and a third shows a group of longshoregirls, at the same Terminal, at work upon a fishing smack. They are in overalls and caps and it is said of them that they "look hardy and fit," and that they do not shirk "the more

strenuous tasks of men." Perhaps not; but the credulous reader of the papers printing these illustrations did not know that none of the "longshoregirls" pictured were actually doing the things represented. They were merely posing for the parts, and, after the photographer was through with them, they resumed their normal garb and went back to their typewriters and telephones. So far as they, at least, are concerned, it would be premature to be solicitous about their strenuous industrial life.

—*The Remonstrance.*

**I**N Illinois, under partial woman suffrage, the woman's vote has always appeared as a duplicate of the man's vote. At the recent Presidential election 152 men voted to every 100 women; 148 men voted for every 100 women who voted for President Wilson, and 152 men voted for every 100 women who voted for Mr. Hughes. Figures for the other States are given in the accompanying tables.

In Chicago the woman's vote in 1915 showed a like correspondence to the man's vote, Mayor Thompson obtaining 61 per cent. of the votes cast by men and 62 per cent. of the votes cast by women.

It appears, however, that the woman's vote cannot be gotten out on matters of local interest, or "public housekeeping," so-called.

It is only for President or other major political offices, and presumably when urged by the men of their families, that women cast even 50 per cent. of their possible vote.

The *Chicago Daily News Almanac* for 1917, page 594, shows that women were woefully negligent in voting on propositions for the following matters of so-called "municipal housekeeping":

Garbage reduction plant; bathing beach bonds; park consolidation; amendment to municipal court act; Lincoln Park bonds; bonds for new bridges; for extension of lighting plant; for new jail and court building.

On these eight measures the men cast a total of 1,739,265 votes; the women, 616,363 votes. In other words, an average of nearly 300 men to every 100 women voted on these questions, although there are only 101 men to every 100 women eligible to vote in Chicago. (There are 647,366 eligible men and 638,090 eligible women.)

Nevertheless, for this useless duplication of effort, the taxpayers of Chicago have been called upon to provide an appropriation for election purposes of over \$1,000,000 more than it cost to decide elections under man suffrage. Mr. S. H. Canfield, of the Chicago Efficiency Staff, traces this increase directly to "votes for women."

In April, 1912, the voters of Chicago were asked to express their opinion of woman suffrage. It was defeated by a majority of 235,000 votes; yet the taxpayers of Chicago, through the influence of a lobby of suffragists who obtained partial suffrage immediately after this great popular defeat, are now forced to pay more for "votes for women" than was appropriated for the department of health in 1915; or for the total administration salaries of Cook County in the same year.

When the taxpayers are forced to pay the price of woman suffrage granted in part by the legislature of a State, after the proposition has been rejected by the people at the polls, then indeed are they subjected to the worst form of taxation without representation.

When this taxation is imposed upon a State by a legislature in spite of the wishes of the women and the votes of the men; for an experiment not desired by over 10 per cent. of the women; every ideal of a representative form of government is shattered, and the word "representative" becomes meaningless.



## WASHINGTON NEWS AND NOTES

By MRS. GEORGE F. RICHARDS

THERE has been plenty of war right here in Washington. No one need cross the Atlantic to get on the firing line. The agitation of suffrage in Congress, as made by the struggle which ended in bringing Aunt Susan's amendment once more into the light of day, after its peaceful rest of many years; and the Heflin-Howard-Norton Bernstorff slush fund accusations went hand and hand as they roused Congress to white heat. During the Heflin *et als* storm hot-headed members of the House of Representatives fought hand to hand in the aisle of the House, until separated by their colleagues. That storm had scarcely lulled when the question of creating a separate committee for suffrage was brought up, and in an instant another storm of tropical fury burst over the House. Practically every question that could have the word suffrage annexed was hashed and re-hashed, and came in for either a word of praise or a rap on the knuckles. The old familiar slogan of the suffragists, "Is woman a convict or a lunatic that she is denied the right to vote," was this time augmented by somewhat irrelevant questions regarding her as compared to the boll weevil pest of the South and the white pine blister plague of the North. The logical connection of some of the questions was a little dim to the eyes and ears of most of us, but that did not seem to matter in the stress of the hour. The real question was the simple and not over important one of whether the suffrage petition, which was the apple of Aunt Susan's eye many years ago, should remain in the hands of the Judiciary Committee or whether it should go to a special committee, to be created for that purpose. It was not a vital question. The meat of it was this: The Judiciary Committee had prepared an unfavorable report; a new committee would be so organized that its report would be favorable. It would not change the vote of the House if the matter comes to a vote during this Congress. But this main question was entirely lost sight of for several hours, as suffrage members raged and anti-suffrage members argued on every phase of the whole suffrage question from the time of the passage of the Fifteenth Amendment to the present day. Finally a vote was taken and the new committee will be created. That vote, however, has but little significance. Many members who voted for the new committee will vote against suffrage; many members who voted against the creation of the committee will vote for suffrage. As a result both sides claim to be satisfied, as the vote was in no sense a test vote of the House, and if it were, it fell so far below the necessary two-thirds that it would be extremely disheartening to the suffrage cause. And will the formation of that committee really advance suffrage? The Judiciary Committee had thoroughly considered the question and prepared an adverse report. None of those men will change their views through a new committee—nor will any other member. But the crisis was acute; if an adverse report was to be prevented a repetition of the Maine defeat stared them in the face, and they left no stone unturned to stir up a sentiment which would at least give them the appearance of having gained something somewhere. By argument and threats the militant branch of the suffragists urged men from suffrage States to take the matter out of the hands of the Judiciary, and do their best to get a packed committee in favor of suffrage. They succeeded in carrying their first point, but there is no hope of securing the second, and as they know it, the claim of victory is hung on a very slender thread. To my mind the gain of the suffragists is simply this: They will probably secure a chairman of the committee who will be able to prevent a report until such time as they deem advisable. Had they not secured the committee, such a report would have been made within a very short time. But this will prove no permanent benefit, in my opinion. It merely puts off the evil day which is in store for them. The question of who shall be chairman is not yet settled, and it is probable that the committee will not

be made until the December session. Miss Rankin is working tooth and nail—if such terms may be applied to the lady from Montana without personal affront—to secure it, but whether she will be successful cannot at this moment be foretold. The chairman will be in favor of suffrage—that is generally conceded. It will not be a packed committee, for Democratic floor leader Kitchin has assured members of the Executive Board of the National Association Opposed to Suffrage that he will see that the women opposed to suffrage shall have fair representation on the committee in the Democrats named. Congressman Gillette of Massachusetts, chairman of the Republican Steering Committee, has given the same assurance, regarding the Republicans who will be given a place on that committee. My prediction at this moment is, that whether or not the committee is named at this session, and whether or not the chairman is Miss Rankin, a report will be delayed, and Aunt Susan's pet scheme will take another long and refreshing nap before it dares try out its force against the tremendous blows suffrage has received the past few years in Maine and elsewhere.

There were several interesting features connected with the report made within the month by the Suffrage Committee of the Senate. There were but three of the nine members present when the quiet little meeting was held. A quorum is five, but these gentlemen did not bother to raise that question. Those present were Johnson of California, Jones of New Mexico (chairman) and Jones of Washington. The way those three ordered a favorable report would make the old-time Tzar methods of the Tom Reed Speakership days look like mere child's play. But the Senate Committee is a hand-picked packed committee in favor of suffrage, so it didn't much matter how few were there, except that three of the Senators had openly declared themselves against a favorable report so long as the militants had charge of the matter and picketing continued. But those men were absent when the report was rendered—and probably were glad to escape the nagging and heckling which has dodged them at every step since the session begun.

It is the irony of fate that has given the Hon. Byron R. Newton the high office as Collector of the Port of New York, in place of Hon. Dudley F. Malone, who resigned in order to plead for the pickets, as Mr. Newton is an ardent opposer to woman suffrage.

Mr. Newton is in every way fitted for the collectorship. He has made a long and splendid record as first assistant of the United States Treasury, always serving as Acting Secretary in the absence of Secretary McAdoo. He was the first choice of both President Wilson and Secretary McAdoo for the vacancy caused by Mr. Malone's resignation. He is able, efficient, honorable and remarkably well informed, and is certain to fill with credit to the nation and to himself the high office to which he has just been appointed. Moreover, it is safe to say that he will not—as did his predecessor—drop his important official duties to run about the country as a defender of "iron-jawed angels," but will stay at his post of duty during the stress of the European war.

In a personal interview, which Mr. Newton gave me just after the defeat of suffrage in Maine, he said to me: "In this great world crisis that is testing the strength of world civilization, I feel like thanking God that there are in this country still left so many real women who appreciate the power that womanhood has always had and exerted in the development of world civilization. I believe that the war may be a blessing to our country in checking what I regard as a menace to our civilization—and by menace I mean that groups of restless, abnormal women who seem to have a perverted and diseased ambition to do anything and everything except those things which Almighty God and



Nature designed them to do. Women have set the milestones of progress along the pathway of civilization in this world and I am truly thankful to God that the American women, despite the freaks of their sex, are rising to the occasion and continuing to do that splendid work in this country to-day. The true woman knows her power. She knows that working in a woman's way she exerts a force in the world superior to that of man. Men know it, they feel it and recognize it. But when women attempt to leave their own realm and zone of national power and activity and attempt to do men's work in a man's way—which they are unfitted by nature to do—they lose their power in the world, just as men would become weakened and ridiculous if they should attempt to invade the realms which nature and civilization has set apart for women."

Commenting further on suffrage, Mr. Newton called attention to the havoc which it would work in certain States—Nevada, for instance—where alien men must submit to immigration tests, but where under Federal suffrage many disqualified women would be given the right to vote. Mr. Newton made it very plain that he believes women have a tremendous work to do in the world, and that they exert a splendid influence on the political work by working in a woman's way, but should they become competitors of men and seekers of political office, they would soon lose their influence and bring themselves down to a lower level instead of raising men to a higher level.

Here is one of the comments on militant suffragists as expressed by members of Congress during the committee debate: Said Congressman Walsh of Massachusetts, "The question is whether we are to take action which will seem to yield to the demands of some *iron-jawed angels* who have been picketing the gateways to the Executive mansion and flaunting in the face of the Chief Magistrate of the nation banners seemingly treasonable and seditious in character, and which if used by a poor workingman in attempting to get his rights would have speedily put him behind the bars for treason and sedition. These poor bewildered, deluded creatures, after their disgusting exhibition, can thank their stars they wear skirts."

It was a noticeable feature of the debate that one of the staunchest supporters of the movement was Congressman London of New York, the lone representative of the Socialist Party in Congress. Couple this with the notorious I. W. W. speech recently made by Miss Rankin and you will find teamwork which may furnish food for thought.

Now just see what comes of letting women juggle with figures! As we all know the Maine election went against suffrage by a vote of approximately two to one, yet here is what the *Woman Citizen* said about it in the issue of September 15th: "About 32,000 voted for the amendment and about 18,000 against it." A complete reversal of the correct figures, but it made good reading from a suffrage viewpoint.

The pickets in Occoquan Jail sent out an S. O. S. call for help—they said they were abused, that the food was uneatable and that the sanitary conditions were "something awful," whereupon Dudley Malone gave up a \$12,000 job as collector of the Port of New York so he might pass along the "underfed" war cry. But it seems that some of the Western friends of those self-styled martyrs believed what they heard, and sent letters to their Congressmen to at once investigate and improve the "awful conditions." Congressman Timberlake from Colorado, a strong suffrage State—and himself a most ardent suffragist—hurried out to Occoquan to investigate. He took with him another Congressman and several women, all equally ardent supporters of the suffrage cause. Now that Western Congressman is one of the truly high-grade sort of men. He went out in good faith, prepared to storm the jail and bring about reform. He had only the welfare of the pickets in mind—some of them coming from his home State. But, as I have said, he was high-minded, truthful, and the "awful conditions" as he found them can best be told by a quotation from a letter which he sent back to the women

of his State, on whose appeal he had made a very thorough investigation. This is what he said: "There can be no criticism of the quality, quantity or character of the food served the prisoners. The bread was of fine quality, to which no objection whatsoever could be made. The dining-room and kitchen were scrupulously clean. The sanitary conditions all that could be desired or expected in such an institution." The Congressman went on to say that the visit of the investigators was entirely unannounced, that they were permitted to examine all parts of the institution and taste all the food. They arrived just at the moment dinner was being served, so could judge for themselves. This Congressman came back to Washington and told the truth. He refused to be a party to any unjust complaints and misrepresentations, although he is a firm and steadfast suffragist.

Judge Pugh, of the District of Columbia Police Court, evidently thinks an old-fashioned spanking would do more good to some of the militant suffragists than a six months jail sentence. Thirteen pickets tried to insult the 30,000 paraders who were marching down Pennsylvania Avenue in honor of the drafted men of the District—the procession being headed by President Wilson—by flaunting seditious banners in their face. The women were promptly arrested and taken to the Police Court. The women refused to pay a fine of \$25 each, but among them was one young girl, whose mother attempted to reason with her, but in vain. The judge cast one look at the weeping mother and then said sternly to the girl: "Your stubborn conduct has brought her to that—it's a pity you can't be disciplined in some other way." And as the judge glowered at the defiant girl he significantly patted his knee. You see that judge is a good father with several fine young daughters of his own, and the tears of the mother touched his heart. He sent the older women who refused to pay their fines to Occoquan Jail for sixty days, with the admonition that the next offense would mean being "sent up for six months," but he let the young girl off on the personal bond of her mother—but the girl balked like a mule as they led her from the courtroom.

The lesson taught by the Maine defeat of suffrage should pave the way for a similar defeat in New York. The small vote in its favor showed beyond a doubt that the people of Maine do not want suffrage. Commenting on the result, the *Lewiston Sun* said editorially: "The result is what it ought to be. When only about one-eighth of the voters vote for a change in the constitution, the constitution ought not to be changed. Before suffrage is given to the women of Maine there ought to be a hundred thousand votes for it instead of a pitiful eighteen thousand. If so many women do really and truly want to vote, where in thunder were the thousands of men voters those ever-so-many women are sisters, cousins and aunts to—say nothing of the wives, sweethearts and mothers? The women of Maine don't want to vote—not by a large majority. By a large majority the things they really want they are in the habit of getting!"

The State of Maine has long been recognized as the political pacemaker for the country. Its September elections have rarely, if ever, failed to point the path trodden at the general elections in November. For years it blazed the trail for Republican national victories. When the Democratic landslide came in 1913 it was foretold in the Maine election; last year the State went almost fifty-fifty, thus pointing to the close national election which followed a couple of months later. The vote in Maine which turned down woman suffrage—on a referendum vote—by more than two to one is unquestionably the forerunner of what will happen to the same question when it comes up in New York in November of this year. Down in Maine there is no doubt but what a referendum vote represents the opinion and desires of the women as well as of men. "Way down East" it is still the fashion for a man and his wife to talk things over—and it is a safe guess that the vote on the 10th of September was very largely dictated by the women of the Pine Tree State, who have no desire to be dragged into politics.



## MRS. CATT AND THE SCHWIMMER PEACE PLAN

**I**N September, 1914, when the Kaiser's armies were approaching Paris, after having ravished Belgium, there were few persons who urged an immediate peace at any price Germany might impose. But among the few there is none more notable than "Frau" Rosika Schwimmer, then president of the Hungarian Woman Suffrage Association and secretary of the International Suffrage Council, who came to America at that time to preach the "solidarity" of women for peace, and to present an elaborate peace plan to President Wilson.

Mr. Herman Bernstein, special correspondent of the *Washington Post* and a guest of Mr. Henry Ford on his peace expedition, throws some interesting light upon Frau Schwimmer's activities which indicate that her mission to this country was not one of peace, but of sinister portent to the peace of the world.

Mr. Bernstein says:

"The revelations contained in the materials submitted by Bourtseff to the Russian government expose the machinations of the former Czar's servants, who worked hand in hand with German agents for Russia's destruction, and which probably cost Russia countless thousands of lives. One of the chief offenders, according to the charges made by witnesses now in Russia, was Col. Vladimir Nekrasoff, a member of the Russian commission, who returned to Russia some time ago. Nekrasoff lived at the Belleclaire Hotel here and occupied two other apartments in New York. One of the witnesses testified that one of his apartments was kept in the name of Rosika Schwimmer, where Col. Nekrasoff and Count von Bernstorff, then German Ambassador to the United States, met several times.

"It will be remembered that Rosika Schwimmer, an Austrian pacifist advocate, was the originator of the Ford peace expedition. It was Mme. Schwimmer who induced Henry Ford, the idealist, with millions of dollars, to finance the expedition. She misled and deceived him by assuring him that she had documents from the neutral governments to the effect that they were eager for the calling of a conference and that they would participate in such a conference.

### HENRY FORD DECEIVED BY WOMAN

"I was with the Ford expedition, as a guest of Mr. Ford, and within the first few days I realized that Henry Ford was the victim of a bold adventure, that Mme. Schwimmer had no such documents as she described to Mr. Ford and that she was working for German and Austrian interests, rather than in the interest of durable peace.

"It was pathetic to see Mr. Ford, whom I regard as one of the noblest idealists of our age, when it dawned upon him that something was wrong with the expedition. I was the first to declare to Mr. Ford that I would leave the expedition upon reaching Stockholm. I felt that I could not be identified with an expedition whose moving spirit, Rosika Schwimmer, was disguising behind the noble ideals of Mr. Ford and his purest motives a scheme which was intended to serve not only her own selfish interests, but perhaps also one of the groups of belligerents against another. Henry Ford was the first man to leave the expedition in Christiania. I was his first guest to leave it.

### NEKRASOFF MET VON BERNSTORFF

"The testimony of one of the witnesses in Petrograd against Col. Nekrasoff to the effect that von Bernstorff, then German Ambassador to the United States, and Col. Nekrasoff, a member of the Russian commission in America, met several times with Mme. Schwimmer in 1915, casts a very strong suspicion on Mme. Schwimmer's activities in this country and her peace propaganda. The bringing together of representatives of enemy governments is more than strange, but, in the light of the disclosures brought out in the charges against Col. Nekrasoff, that he had betrayed Russian military secrets to the German and Austrian authorities, the incident assumes serious proportions.

"A shadow is thus cast on the Ford peace expedition, which was engineered by Rosika Schwimmer, perhaps to serve both German and Russo-German interests."

This exposure of Frau Schwimmer's activities throws a new light upon the letters of Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt to officers of the Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, warning them against publishing certain queries of Mrs. Margaret Robinson, editor of *Anti-Suffrage Notes*, which, Mrs. Catt says, "insidiously imply that I am disloyal to my country."

Mrs. Robinson did not imply that Mrs. Catt was "disloyal," but asked her a series of questions on which, as she says, the country has a right to have some light thrown.

For the information of our readers we print Mrs. Robinson's queries and Mrs. Catt's reply. Mrs. Robinson says:

### QUESTIONS FOR MRS. CATT TO ANSWER

Mrs. Catt, president of the International Suffrage Association, brought to this country early in the war the secretary of that association, the so-called "Frau" Rosika Schwimmer, an unmarried Austrian feminist. "Frau" Schwimmer campaigned for suffrage in Ohio, speaking in a saloon in Columbus; she helped organize the Women's Peace Party, and originated the peace ship enterprise, which she persuaded Mr. Henry Ford to finance. Will Mrs. Catt tell us why this lady on her return to America the following season had changed her name to "Madame" Rosika Schwimmer? And will she also tell us why Mr. Ford, who financed the peace ship, refused on "Madame" Schwimmer's next visit to allow her to enter his house or office, and declined to receive either letters or telegrams from her? The country has a right to some light on these points, when Mrs. Catt and the other suffragists who brought "Frau" Schwimmer to this country and assisted her in starting the peace party are demanding woman suffrage as a "war measure." Is it a war measure for the benefit of Germany or the United States?

Germany's reasons for backing a peace movement are clear. It was to her advantage to keep us unprepared and defenseless. Why has she also been eager to strengthen the suffrage movement in England and America? Because under woman suffrage the power of men individually and collectively is only half what it is in male suffrage States. Inasmuch as the sovereignty of a nation depends in the last analysis upon its manhood, the selfish determination of suffragists to vitiate and devitalize the political power of men, thereby playing directly into the hands of our nation's enemies, stands as one of the crying shames of our era.

To this article, Mrs. Catt replies as follows:

1. I did not bring Frau Schwimmer to this country, nor did I invite her to come. 2. Frau Schwimmer is not an officer of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, nor was she an officer of that body when she made the visits to America to which you refer. She was an officer of that body for a few months only. She is a Hungarian, not an Austrian. I believe her to be an absolutely honest, virtuous woman, and she certainly was highly honored and respected in her own country at the time of my three visits there. She presented a sincere, if impracticable, peace plan at a time when the hope of early peace and the avoidance of much that has happened since, sustained many men and women the world over. I did not sympathize with that plan. What she may think now I have no means of knowing. In any event, her opinions have no influence or control over mine and no act of mine is or has ever been due to her influence.

It appears from a report in the *New York Tribune* of August 6, 1914, that Mrs. Catt arrived on August 5th from London on the *Kaiser William II*, where she had been attending a conference of the executive committee of the International Suffrage Alliance:

### MRS. CATT TO LEAD IN FIGHT ON WAR

Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, head of the International Suffrage Alliance, and Miss Mary Garret Hay returned yesterday on the *Kaiser William II* from a conference of the executive committee of the alliance held recently in London. The conference, she said, made elaborate plans for a world convention next year in Berlin. Now that Mrs. Catt has returned, plans are being made for a big meeting of women to register their opposition to the war. Mrs. Catt will be asked to preside.

It appears also that Frau Schwimmer came to this country soon afterward as an envoy of that same International Suffrage Council, of which Mrs. Catt was president. It further appears that Frau Schwimmer was appointed envoy by the conference over which Mrs. Catt presided, to present a peace plan to the President of the United States. Mrs. Catt's statement that she neither brought Frau Schwimmer nor invited her to come needs further elucidation.

Moreover, Mrs. Catt accompanied Frau Schwimmer to Wash-



ington to lay her peace plan before the President, a peace plan with which Mrs. Catt now declares that she had no sympathy.

*The Woman's Journal*, official suffrage organ, establishes this in its issue of September 26, 1914:

#### WOMEN APPEAL TO PRESIDENT

MRS. CATT AND MME. SCHWIMMER PRESENT PEACE PLEA FROM THIRTEEN NATIONS

President Wilson last week received an appeal from women of thirteen nations that he lead a movement to end the European war. It was carried to the White House by Mme. Rosika Schwimmer of Hungary, secretary of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, who was presented by Senator Thomas of Colorado. Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt accompanied Mrs. Schwimmer. The total of those for whom the appeal was made was not less than 1,000,000 women of thirteen countries.

Suffrage associations from the following countries had voluntarily sent to the London headquarters of the alliance the request for the President to aid in bringing an end to the war: Australia, Canada, Denmark, France, Holland, Hungary, Italy, Norway, Russia, Sweden, Great Britain, West Germany and the United States.

When interviewed on her return to New York, Mrs. Catt said: "The petition which Mrs. Schwimmer and I carried to Washington was, I believe, the first official international petition to be presented to our President asking him to offer mediation to the warring European nations."

Mme. Schwimmer said: "I do not expect instantaneous success, but if the war were shortened—if only a month or only a week—something might be saved on which to rebuild Europe. I do not see how war could have broken out had half the political power been, as it should, in the hands of women. The humane work of the Red Cross and kindred relief work is all very excellent and necessary in its way, but first and foremost comes the prevention of the need of Red Cross work."

In her second answer Mrs. Catt insists that she "was not in sympathy" with Frau Schwimmer's plan, yet we find, in the *New York Tribune* of September 13, 1914, that Mrs. Catt is quoted with a statement disparaging the Red Cross which almost identically coincides with that of Frau Schwimmer quoted above. Mrs. Catt says:

"Suffrage is interested in prevention rather than cure. We are loath to recognize the Red Cross, because it comes from war, which we intend to fight with all our capabilities. If women had their power I am convinced that there would now be no necessity for Red Cross solicitations. No one on earth does not approve the Red Cross, but we dare not expend time and money on it when we feel so drivingly the larger issue of making peace now or in the future."

Furthermore, the *New York Tribune* of September 15, 1914, strikingly confirms Mrs. Catt's sympathy with Frau Schwimmer, as follows:

Armed with many cable messages and letters from women of Europe calling on America to end the war and carrying with them a petition outlining a plan of mediation, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, president of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, and Mrs. Rosika Schwimmer, its secretary, left here yesterday for Washington, where at 10 o'clock this morning they will see President Wilson and Secretary Bryan.

The cable messages and letters, Mrs. Catt said, showed a pathetic faith in America's power to bring peace. They have been so urgent and so many, and have called on Mrs. Catt so definitely to go to President Wilson, that whether or not she would have chosen to go they simply "forced her hand."

Mrs. Schwimmer, who recently came from Europe, said she was full of hope that their errand would accomplish something. "If we did not hope we would not go," she said. Mrs. Schwimmer, by the way, is not married, but when she reached the age of thirty-five, one year ago, she took the title of "Mrs." because she believed that every mature woman had the right to it.

The plan which Mrs. Catt and Mrs. Schwimmer will present for the President's consideration is for a court of arbitration, composed of representatives of the neutral nations, to be established, preferably in Norway. This court would invite each of the warring nations to communicate to it any willingness it might feel to consider the laying down of arms, and the court would hold the communication confidential until the time came to arbitrate, or as long as the nation in question desired.

It appears also that this petition was in the form of a letter, and signed both by Mrs. Catt as president of the International Suffrage Alliance, and by Frau Schwimmer as president of the Hungarian Woman Suffrage Association, according to the following quotation from the *New York Times* of September 15, 1914:

#### WOMEN APPEAL TO WILSON

SUFFRAGETTES OF TWELVE NATIONS ASK HIM TO WORK FOR PEACE

Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, president of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, left for Washington at 4 o'clock yesterday afternoon to present to President Wilson a letter signed by women of twelve European nations, urging him to work incessantly for mediation in the European war. In Mrs. Catt's party was Mme. Rosika Schwimmer, who came here from Belgium to start a propaganda in favor of mediation through the United States.

Among those who signed the letter urging the President to continue to make overtures for peace were representatives of women's organizations in Denmark, France, Holland, Australia, Canada, Hungary, Italy, Norway, Russia, Sweden, Great Britain, Germany and the United States.

Mrs. Catt's denial that Frau Schwimmer was an officer of the International Council of Women at that time is offset convincingly by the following report from the *Woman's Journal*, of November 21, 1914. In an article describing the convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association at Nashville, Tenn., occurs this paragraph:

The next speaker was Mrs. Rosika Schwimmer of Budapest, Hungary, who came to this country to bear a petition from the women of the fifteen war countries of Europe to President Wilson, asking that he use all the influence and power at his command toward getting peace among the warring nations. Mrs. Schwimmer is also secretary of the International Woman Suffrage Council. Her address was particularly appealing, her recital of the conditions in the war countries being exceedingly touching. She provoked a perfect storm of applause when she declared that if the women had a voice in the affairs of the government there would have been no war, and appealed to the men of this country to avoid the great catastrophe of war in the future by granting the women the ballot, as she declared that the women would always stand and vote for peace.

Mrs. Catt declares that she believes Frau Rosika Schwimmer to be "an absolutely honest, virtuous woman, and she certainly was highly honored and respected in her own country at the time of my three visits there."

There is no doubt Frau, or Madame, Schwimmer was "highly honored" in her own country. According to Mr. Bernstein, Frau Schwimmer was probably an agent of the German Government when she came to this country on her peace mission. He declares that her apartment in New York was used as a rendezvous by von Bernstorff and German spies.

The third part of Mrs. Catt's reply is an indignant denial that she has any affiliation with the People's Council. Reference to Mrs. Robinson's queries, quoted above, shows that she did not mention the People's Council in connection with Mrs. Catt, and the reply of the latter is merely a bit of political buncombe.

In her fourth reply Mrs. Catt attempts to link the anti-suffragists with the I. W. W. and Emma Goldman. The absurdity of such a charge is so apparent to every one that it only serves to emphasize the weakness of her argument.

Emma Goldman being anti everything—anti-government, anti-law, anti-order—is, of course, against all suffrage or any other form of government, but to say that she supports the views and works in the interests of the anti-suffragists is as absurd as to say that she supports the views and works in the interests of the anti-saloon league.

And finally Mrs. Catt says: "One of your well-known co-workers, Annie Riley Hale, was arrested recently after a seditious speech." Is Annie Riley Hale an anti-suffragist?

In this connection it is pertinent to quote from a letter written by Mrs. Hale on May 30, 1917, to a friend in the anti-suffrage organization:

"And so, my dear, I have to tell you, and I hope it will not distress you overmuch, that I have renounced all my anti-suffrage connections and burned my anti-suffrage bridges behind me. I have not embraced the suffrage faith, but I find that so many more suffragists are willing to help the fight on militarism than antis that I have told them I would not combat the suffrage movement further as I don't care to antagonize my co-workers in a greater cause than suffrage."

Mrs. Hale resigned from membership in the anti-suffrage organization last April.

Mrs. Catt says: "You must prove your inferences or retract them." This is our reply.



## THE RUSTLING CARD SYSTEM

**S**Ocial disturbances in the West are generally interpreted as the result of the I. W. W. agitation. Miss Rankin in Congress has introduced the name of J. D. Ryan as a capitalist who is involved in the responsibility for the prevailing unrest. The present quarrel of Miss Rankin with John D. Ryan is over the rustling card system. The rustling card system gives the companies some check on who shall be placed on the pay-rolls in their mines by denying certain individuals even the right to go about the properties looking for work. A protest appears in the *Helena Independent* against Miss Rankin's charge that Mr. Ryan, who is president of the Anaconda Copper Company, is to be blamed for all the labor troubles in Butte.

Our Congresswoman should remember that her constituents are not only in trouble in Butte, but throughout the State of Montana. The rustling card system cannot be blamed for the trouble on the farms and railroads and lumber camps. John D. Ryan is not to blame for the threats of Miss Rankin's friends to burn the crops in the fields. The rustling card and Mr. Ryan cannot be charged directly or indirectly with disturbances in Oregon which resulted in the friends of Miss Rankin poisoning some 950 head of farmers' cattle. The Klamath County farmers would not know a rustling card from a coal ticket, yet they have been in trouble for a year or more with the elements represented by Miss Rankin in Congress. \* \* \* All the *Independent* need say as to the false ideas which this girl is giving people of the United States with regard to Montana is that the wives of the Butte miners know she is not speaking the truth; the wives of Montana farmers who now see what crops have been produced, standing in the field because men will not work; the wives of industrious, law-abiding members of labor unions throughout the State know Jeanette Rankin is not telling the truth.—*The Independent*.

**J**UDGE BURNETT, Member of Congress from Alabama, speaking in opposition to a committee on woman suffrage in the House on September 24th, quoted at some length from Mrs. Richards' article in the August PROTEST. Mr. Burnett said:

"Mr. Speaker, I differ just a little from some of the gentlemen who have said that this was not a war measure. I am inclined to think it is a war measure; that the war on the Committee on Rules has gotten so warm that they want to transfer it to the Committee on Ways and Means, who will name the Democratic members of the proposed committee.

"Mr. Speaker, I am not going to argue the merits of the proposition as to whether a constitutional amendment should be adopted or not. I feel, coming from the South, we could set forth one good reason why the great question of suffrage ought not to be taken away from the States, as memory carries us back to the end of the Civil War, when the smoke of conflict had been raging and the outrageous fifteenth amendment was put upon our people, and it seems to me that we ought to be very careful when we undertake to give other States the right to say who shall have suffrage among the people in the several States.

"But, Mr. Speaker, there is no necessity for this proposed committee, and those who are contending for it cannot say and do not say that there is. I am not a member of that great Judiciary Committee, but there is no man or woman living who can say that the committee has ever dealt unfairly with the suffragettes. Then what reason can there be for the committee other than to secure a stacked committee? I am not charging any such reason to the splendid members of the Rules Committee that favor this resolution, because I believe a greater motive, per-

haps, may have prompted them, and that was the way to get rid of the war these women were making on them. But, Mr. Speaker, what other motive could have prompted the propaganda that has been forcing itself on the Committee on Rules and trying to force itself on the House except the hope of getting a packed committee? And when this House transfers the nagging from the Committee on Rules, mark my prediction, the members of the Ways and Means are going to suffer that same nagging. They have shown their purpose in the Senate. We do not need any better evidence that that is the purpose of this resolution. Woman suffrage has the personnel and the sympathy and the sentiment of all those who constitute the Suffrage Committee in the Senate.

"I am going to read in my time a short portion of a letter written by Mrs. Richards, a most excellent correspondent of a number of newspapers in New England, in a recent article to the WOMAN PROTEST, a correspondent who has looked very carefully into this matter, and this is what she says:

"There is but one committee in Congress composed of hand-picked Members whose avowed convictions before appointment were all on one side of the vital question which their committee had been expressly organized to consider. That is the Senate Committee on Suffrage. All of the other 133 committees of Congress are bi-partizan, not only on political questions, but represent varying sentiments on the specific topics which it is the duty of each committee to consider. But the Senate Committee on Suffrage, with its nine members, provide no representation for the millions of women throughout the country who oppose suffrage and who are urging Congress to protect them from the threatened invasion of militant women. The committee is composed of Senators Jones (chairman), New Mexico; Owen, Oklahoma; Ransdell, Louisiana; Hollis, New Hampshire; Johnson, South Dakota; Jones, Washington; Nelson, Minnesota; Cummings, Iowa; and Johnson, California. Each of these Senators had, prior to his appointment, expressed himself by voice or vote as favoring woman's suffrage. The full import of this lack of representation for the women who opposed suffrage can be best realized when it is recalled that every petition, resolution, or proposed Federal law relating to suffrage must be first placed in the hands of this committee, which considers it behind closed doors, and later reports to the full Senate its findings as to the merits of the case. And the Committee report often sways the vote of the Senate."

"Mr. Speaker, does any Member of the House believe those gentlemen who are insisting upon this resolution would be willing to accept an amendment to the resolution that the personnel of that committee should be divided in the proportion that the Members of the House of Representatives stand on that question? It would be a fair thing to do, but the Committee on Ways and Means, when they come to pass on this question, I hope will stand up and do what is fair, and if they do it against the pressure that is brought they have got twice as much iron in them and a little more strength than some have. We all know how powerful is the influence and tenacity of a woman when fully aroused. I have been working in double harness, Mr. Speaker, for the last thirty years, and I learned a long time ago that when she says 'Go' he goeth and when she says 'Come' he cometh. An I think that other men are the same." (Applause.)

New York State Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage,  
280 Madison Avenue, New York City.

September 20, 1917.

To the Editor:

DEAR SIR: As late as November, 1915, six months after the *Lusitania* disaster, the Woman's Peace Party included in its list of officers, among many other well-known suffragists, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, Mrs. Norman de R. Whitehouse, Mrs. Charlotte Perkins Gilman, Jane Addams, Crystal Eastman Benedict, Alice Carpenter, Rose Schneiderman, Kate Deveraux Blake, Lillian D. Wald, Mrs. Henry Villard and Henrietta Rodman. Mrs. Henry Wise Dennett, corresponding secretary of the National Suffrage Association; Mrs. George B. Twichell, recent chairman of the Ohio Woman Suffrage Association; Emily Balch of Wellesly



College; Fola La Folette, Elizabeth Freeman, Mrs. Florence Kelley, and other prominent suffragists, are to-day actively engaged in pacifist propaganda.

Alice Stone Blackwell, perhaps the best-known suffragist in the country, is a socialist. The *New York Call* (socialist organ) of June 29, 1917, said: "That fine organization of pacifist suffragists, the Woman's Peace Party, has done and is doing splendid educational work, not only among woman, but also among men. The whole socialist press of the country is urging women to get the vote so that 'their sons may be saved.' Socialists generally are enthusiastic in their praise of the White House pickets.

As late as June, 1915, Rev. Anna Shaw said: "Preparation for war is an incentive to war." Morris Hilquit, a frequent speaker for woman suffrage, said at a suffrage meeting as far back as March 11, 1912: "Patriotism is the last resort of the rascal."

Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, president of the International Suffrage Association, brought to this country early in the war, the secretary of that association, "Frau" Rosika Schwimmer, an unmarried Austrian feminist. Frau Schwimmer campaigned for suffrage in Ohio; she helped organize the Woman's Peace Party, and originated the peace ship enterprise. No one will probably ever know to just what extent this Woman's Peace Party influenced our authorities against preparedness. Mrs. Catt and her suffrage associates have never satisfactorily explained their motives in opposing preparedness at the most critical time in American history. They stand convicted to-day, however, of incredible short-sightedness, to say the least.

When Miss Rankin took her seat in the House on April 2, Mrs. Catt delivered a speech in her behalf entitled "The Day of Our Deliverance Is at Hand," and when four days later Miss Rankin voted "no" on the war resolution, Mrs. Catt was emphatic in her defense, stating: "If Miss Rankin voted for war, she would offend the pacifists; if she voted against it, she would offend the militarists."

In other words, Mrs. Catt calls anyone not a pacifist "a militarist."

Mrs. Catt said then that "Miss Rankin has done nothing to be ashamed of, far from it, and she can be counted on to do nothing that she need be ashamed of. In the light of Miss Rankin's recent espousal of the I. W. W.'s and her attacks upon the conscription bill, we have further evidence of Mrs. Catt's and Miss Rankin's original ideas of what a public official need not be "ashamed of."

The "People's Council of America for Democracy and Peace," of which the leaders are prominent suffragists, has affiliated with the I. W. W. and is demanding the overthrow of our government. *The Masses*, the notorious revolutionary socialist magazine that has been forbidden the mails, was publicly thanked by Mrs. Norman de R. Whitehouse as the "best friend" of woman suffrage.

Mrs. Beatrice Forbes Robertson Hale describes the *New Man*—fond ideal of feminists—thus: "Every male instinct of domination and sovereignty has to be bred out of the individual before he can attain the status of the new man and be a fit mate for the new woman. The new man has to unlearn those deep-rooted habits and instincts of sex."—Alice Hill Chittenden.

#### A LETTER TO "THE EVENING TELEGRAPH"

August 24, 1917.

EDITOR:

In answer to an editorial in your last night's paper entitled, "Woman's Place Is —," I wish to quote from an article that appeared in *The Unpopular Review*:

"Already in England the evil results of 'woman's coming out from the home' are being seriously felt. Thoughtful people

realize with misgivings that the nation would suffer if the woman, in order to do war work, must neglect work which none but women could do. The misgivings were proved well founded when infant mortality jumped in six months to the highest rate in years. Commenting upon this alarming condition, an English writer says: 'Unless drastic steps are taken to remedy this evil, posterity will have harsh things to say of a generation that allowed its women to do men's work to the neglect of the duties which nature and the nation's interests alike called upon them to perform.'"

The jeers that could always be relied upon to greet the reference to woman's sphere being in the home, are no longer heard. In their place England has witnessed a splendid campaign to promote the welfare of motherhood and infancy.

Even the suffragist, Mrs. Florence Kelley, writes: "Such statistics as have been gathered the world over, show that the industrial employment of married women does harm and only harm." And she specifies among the fruits of it, infanticide, demoralizing tendency to husbands and a lowering of men's wages.

Ellen Key holds the same opinion. She says that competition between the sexes produces overcrowding of the labor market with low wages, uncertainty of employment, high infant mortality and a debased domestic life with its consequences of drunkenness and crime. It also produces ill felling between the sexes.

Very sincerely yours,

ETHEL HARRISON BARR.

Berwyn, Pa., August 23, 1917.

April 16, 1917.

WITH our women working for the American Red Cross, the National League for Woman's Service, the Navy League, the National Security League, the Surgical Dressings Committees, the National Special Aid, the Needlework Guilds, the Home Garden Associations, the Soldiers' Relief Committees, the Civic Federations, the Day Nurseries, the Home Finding Societies, the Federations of Women and the Congress of Mothers—to say nothing of the churches, schools, religious and educational organizations; with the *average* adult woman married and the mother of three children, and doing her own housework for a family of five in nine homes in every ten; with war demanding from women new duties and more training, there are still some men and a few women who offer to "reward" women for all this service by giving them the ballot!

This proposition has been made repeatedly, by every male advocate of woman suffrage who has recently voiced his opinion in the press.

Not only as anti-suffragists, but as women familiar with the work of our sex, we strongly protest against this erroneous idea that women wish the vote as a form of payment or reward for services rendered.

Patriotic women want no reward. And the ballot is not a reward, but a burden.

Woman's service to the State, as to the family, is unbought, unselfish, unconditional and unremitting.

The political payment proposed is an insult to woman's patriotism as a price and an insult to her intelligence as a "reward."

The State can no more reward its women with the vote than a man can compensate his wife or mother by forcing additional work and worry upon her when she is already overburdened with duties she cannot shirk.

Woman's work is important. It must be done. The State cannot survive without it—and men cannot do it.



## NOTES FROM THE STATES

### NEW YORK

THE following letter from President Wilson has been received by Miss Alice Hill Chittenden, president of the New York State Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, in response to a telegram sent by the New York anti-suffragists assembled in Albany:

"WHITE HOUSE,  
"WASHINGTON, D. C.  
"October 5, 1917.

"MY DEAR MISS CHITTENDEN:

"May I not express my warm appreciation of the pledge of allegiance to the Government, of generous loyalty to myself, and of support of the Liberty Loan contained in your telegram of October 4th? I beg to thank you and all concerned most heartily.

"Cordially and sincerely yours,  
(Signed) "WOODROW WILSON."

A most enthusiastic gathering of New York State's forces opposed to woman suffrage met in Albany on October 4th, with many distinguished guests. The meeting of the State council was held at anti-suffrage headquarters, Miss Alice Hill Chittenden, State president, presiding. A luncheon for the State delegates and the anti-suffragists of Albany and vicinity followed in the ballroom of the Ten Eyck Hotel. Covers were laid for 300, and in the gathering were many of Albany's most prominent women.

At the speakers' table, which was adorned with American beauty roses, were Mrs. James W. Wadsworth, Jr., Miss Chittenden, Mrs. Edwin Ford of Boston; Miss Henrietta Church, president of the Albany anti-suffrage auxiliary, under whose auspices the State council meeting and luncheon were held; Mrs. George Douglas Miller, honorary president; Mrs. Ledyard Cogswell, Mrs. John Huston Finley, Mrs. George Porter Hilton, Miss Margaret Freeman, Mrs. D. Cady Herrick, Mrs. Le Roy Blatnet, and Mrs. J. Bartlett Hydorn, Jr.

At the morning meeting of State delegates, telegrams were sent to President Wilson, to Secretary of the Treasury McAdoo and to Benjamin Strong, head of the New York City Reserve Bank. The telegram to the President read:

"At a meeting October 4th in Albany, N. Y., of the State Council of the New York State Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, the anti-suffragists of the State of New York pledge their allegiance to the Government of the United States, their loyalty to President Wilson, and endorse the Liberty Loan; and promise to do everything in their power to help win the war."

The message sent to Secretary McAdoo and to Mr. Strong was as follows:

"At a meeting October 4th in Albany, N. Y., of the State Council of the New York State Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, the anti-suffragists of the State of New York pledge themselves to do everything in their power to make the Liberty Loan a success."

Among the delegates who made reports at the meeting were Mrs. W. A. Putnam of Brooklyn, Mrs. Frank Fiske of Buffalo, Mrs. H. D. Ellsworth of Canton, Mrs. E. Remington and Mrs. James Hamilton of Cazenovia, Mrs. Walter Hutchinson of Geneseo, Mrs. A. M. Barker of Johnstown, Mrs. H. R. Fairfax of Merrick, Mrs. C. A. Smith of Nyack, Miss E. M. Whitly of Plattsburgh, Mrs. A. C. Rust of Poughkeepsie, Mrs. Henry Benton of Ballston, Mrs. Henry Foote of Tarrytown, Mrs. W. E. Ford and Mrs. John M. Maynard of Utica, Mrs. J. W. Berry of Troy, Mrs. J. Peterson of Lockport, Mrs. William Gregg and Miss Flora Gannett of Elmira, Mrs. Charles Collins of Oneonta, Miss Henrietta Church of Albany, Mrs. Henry J. Ramsdell of Newburgh and Mrs. H. V. Colt of Geneseo.

One of the largest anti-suffrage mass meetings of the campaign was held in Utica on September 24th in the Colonial Theater, with Hon. Elihu Root, former Secretary of State, acting as chairman; Mrs. James W. Wadsworth, Jr., and Mrs. Grace Duffield Goodwin being the speakers of the evening.

Mr. Root was given an ovation as he appeared on the platform with Hon. F. M. Calder and Rev. J. H. Hobbs, D. D. In his brief opening statement Mr. Root emphasized his unalterable opposition to the enfranchisement of women. As one of the leading statesmen of the time, Mr. Root's words have had tremendous weight throughout the State. He said in part:

"I am opposed to the granting of suffrage to women. I formed an unfavorable opinion of the project many years ago, and time, far from changing my opinion, has but confirmed it. I am opposed to it because I think it would be bad for the government of the country, for the State, and bad for women."

Mrs. Willis Ford, chairman of the Utica Auxiliary; Mrs. John F. Maynard, and other members of the Utica committee, were in charge of the mass meeting.

A large and well-located annex was opened in the heart of the Bronx in September, and from the day of its opening became one of the most important features of work in the whole State. The residents

of the Bronx—one of the most congested sections of Greater New York—literally flocked to the headquarters for literature, discussion, and to hear our speakers.

Under the able chairmanship of Mrs. K. B. Lapham, assisted by Mrs. George Dobbin, the Annex Committee not only made the Bronx Annex a thing of beauty, but a live wire of practical propaganda.

Great anti-suffrage enthusiasm has developed in Newburgh, one of the suffrage strongholds. A mass meeting was held in the court house on October 1st, the Newburgh committee, with Mrs. Henry J. Ramsdell as chairman, being more than repaid for their labor by the great audience which assembled, filling the aisles, sitting on the steps of the platform, and standing in every available corner, window and door.

Rev. Frank Heartfield of Newburgh, one of the most influential men in that part of the State, presided at the meeting and made a splendid opening address. Miss Lucy Price and Miss Charlotte Rowe were the speakers. The following letter was received at the New York headquarters a few days after the meeting, written by a Newburgh resident:

"In sending my card, wish to tell the Association that I was delighted with the lectures of Misses Price and Rowe in my city last evening, and also found them helpful in my particular case. Though I have never felt any desire for suffrage, I have thought that I should have had a career instead of being simply a homemaker (I have neither husband nor children) and it has often seemed foolish to me to have the daily round of household tasks; and I have often thought of giving it up and doing something for which I would receive a pay envelope. But since hearing Miss Rowe I have decided to keep right on under my own roof tree and welcome my old friends and former townspeople as always."

Three hundred prominent men and women of Long Island compose the anti-suffrage campaign committee of the First Assembly District of Suffolk County, with Mr. Samuel L. Parrish chairman, Mr. L. Emory Terry treasurer and Mrs. William L. Donnelly secretary.

Successful public meetings have been held in Southampton, Bridgehampton, Easthampton, Sag Harbor, Quogue, Riverhead, Patchogue and other political centers, under the auspices of this committee.

The anti-suffrage booth was one of the "features" of the Riverhead Fair. It was a tremendous success. Miss Marjorie Dorman spoke daily to large audiences. Another speaker at the fair was Rev. H. H.



## NOTES FROM THE STATES

Cooper, Y. M. C. A. delegate going to France, who as a Westerner said that he was an anti because he had seen woman suffrage tried and fail in his own State. Conspicuous at the anti-suffrage booth was Mrs. C. W. Hallock of Riverhead, formerly president of the local W. C. T. U.

Mrs. Arthur B. Clafin has addressed a series of parlor meetings in Suffolk County, arousing great enthusiasm.

Since the first of April last 30,000 articles have been sent by the Albany Anti-suffrage Committee to the War Relief Clearing House in France; and \$300 was cabled by them to distribute to the destitute people of Noyen at the time of the German retreat.

The committee is now engaged in knitting 450 sets of sweaters, mufflers and wristlets for the Battalion Auxiliary, which supplies necessities to the Albany boys—for what was formerly the First Battalion of the Tenth Regiment of the New York State National Guard, now the 114th Infantry, U. S. Reserve.

This is not the first knitting accomplished by the Albany anti-suffragists, as they recently exhibited at their headquarters, as well as at the Navy League headquarters, 425 sets of knitted sweaters, mufflers and wristlets, made by members of the Albany Anti-suffrage Committee, the wool having been furnished by the Van Rensselaer family of Albany. The Navy League announced that this was the largest single donation made by any one organization.

Originally it was planned to hold a mass meeting in Carnegie Hall at the end of the New York campaign, as was done two years ago. However, due to the unprecedented conditions and the fact that by the end of October all the arguments against woman suffrage will have been heard, it was decided, instead of a mass meeting, to have an entertainment at Carnegie Hall on Saturday evening, November 3d, to raise funds for the Soldiers and Sailors Christmas Cheer.

Mrs. James W. Wadsworth, Jr., and Mrs. Robert Lansing will be the guests of honor.

The program of the all-star caste will be as follows:

Russian Symphony Orchestra, led by Modest Altschuler.

Florence Easton, prima donna of the Metropolitan Opera Co., will sing the "Star Spangled Banner" and "Somewhere in France." The latter brilliant war epic, written by Mrs. Hartman and published by

Schirmer, will be sung at its first presentation the night before the anti-suffrage entertainment in Carnegie Hall.

Francis MacLennan, leading tenor of the Chicago Opera Co., will sing the new song written by Sousa, "Blue Ridge," and another patriotic number.

Maximilian Pilzer, America's foremost violinist.

Scott Gibson, the kiltie comedian.

Lieut.-Col. Wm. T. Stewart, from the trenches, late of the Canadian Overseas Forces.

Mrs. Ernest R. Adece is chairman of the Committee on Arrangements.

The Anti-suffrage Committee at Schenectady has recently been reorganized with Mrs. J. K. Paige as honorary chairman and Mrs. F. H. Warnick as chairman. Mrs. Edwin Ford recently spoke to a group of anti-suffragists at Mrs. Paige's house; and headquarters have been opened by their committee.

A reception will be given in Brooklyn on Monday evening, October 29th, at the Chateau du Parc for Mrs. James W. Wadsworth, Jr., by the Brooklyn Auxiliary.

On October 18th the Gloversville committee, of which Mrs. T. H. Pursell is president, will hold a mass meeting, the speakers to be Mrs. Wadsworth, Miss Chittenden and Henry A. Wise Wood, vice-president of the Aero Club of America.

At the Avon fair in Livingston County the anti-suffrage booth included an infants' welfare section, where information was given out for the care of infants. Mrs. H. V. Colt, president of the Livingston County Auxiliary, and Mrs. James W. Wadsworth, Jr., were in charge of the booth.

### MISS RANKIN'S ERROR

**I**N failing to distinguish between actual labor rights and anarchistic agitations which have no legitimate connection with labor, Congresswoman Jeanette Rankin has failed to show the essential qualification of a law-maker. Her blunder has aroused active protests among the thinking people of Montana and may lead to a short political career for the lone woman in Congress.

Will A. Campbell, formerly of *The Tribune* staff, now publisher of the Helena, Mont., *Independent*, recently presented in his newspaper an exhaustive discussion of

the I. W. W. situation at Butte and elsewhere in Montana. Through reproduction of I. W. W. posters, songs and resolutions he clearly shows that the advocates of "direct action" and "sabotage" are opposed to honest labor that seeks to give value received. Mr. Campbell says that careful investigation of records show that practically all of the various miners' unions at Butte now are dominated by men who have been paying dues to the I. W. W. for several years.

Miss Rankin disclaims any notion of taking up a fight in behalf of the I. W. W. anarchists, but she has done that very thing. She says: "It is impossible properly to support a family in Butte on the wages that are being paid."

The mine owners are, and have been, offering \$5.25 a day, but they do not want men in their employ who are disturbers, agitators, blacklegs and traitors to the country. If Miss Rankin had been posted on Butte conditions, and honestly inclined about presenting her information, she would have admitted that the trouble at Butte is due more to efforts at weeding out Won't Workers than to dissatisfaction over wages on the part of honest laborers.

In one of her recent campaign addresses in Montana, Miss Rankin referred to the "rustler card" as some wonderful and mysterious agency of evil. This card merely shows that the holder has an unobjectionable personal record, and is eligible for employment in any of the mines. The card is made up of the following questions: Name, age, birthplace, present citizenship, trade or occupation, where last employed, married or single, present address. It is really a letter of recommendation for good men.

Mr. Campbell says that I. W. W. sabotage has come to mean a threefold conspiracy against organized society, as follows:

First—The destruction of all industries and the abolition of the wage system.

Second—The destruction of all legitimate labor unions in the determination to have "one big union" dominated by an anarchistic creed.

Third—A conspiracy against the government of the United States by open and avowed efforts "to keep the soldiers so busy in the western industrial centers that they will have no time to fight Germany."

No amount of anxiety for labor votes by Miss Rankin, or any other politician, can justify soft dealing with an element of that kind, even though it may hold temporary power and influence among labor organizations. Politicians who will make terms with anarchy in any form cannot be trusted with the serious business of government in the United States.—*Sioux City Tribune*.

The White House pickets still persist. They are placing themselves in the same category as the I. W. W., the anarchists and alien enemies opposed to the Government.—*Editorial Lowell (Mass.) Sun*.



## NOTES AND COMMENT

## CORRECTING HISTORIC FALSEHOOD

**E**MBEDDED in the statement filed with the Secretary of State, to be printed and distributed to the voters of Ohio on behalf of the pro-feminine presidential suffrage law now awaiting a referendum, is the persistent mendacity that men are not qualified to enact and administer laws relating to the interests of women and children. This thought, like a scarlet thread, runs through the warp and woof of the suffrage movement. In its extreme form, as preached by the true, or completely transformed, feminists, it is a doctrine of pure hatred based upon pathological and not psychological causes. The milder form holds that men are incompetent to understand the deeper problems involved. Both are highly erroneous. The statement, for illustrative purposes, recites that:

"Women and children are better protected in States where women vote than anywhere in the world."

Yet in Ohio, where women do not vote save for school directors, and then only to the extent of 5 per cent. of those eligible, the laws for the protection of women and children are better than and have for years far excelled those of Colorado or any other State where equal suffrage exists.

Further, they are better administered. The twin mendacity that men alone cannot enforce public morality and public health is also found repeated in this deceptive and misleading statement, which, on the whole, is not a plea for equal suffrage, but an indictment of the government of the men for the past 115 years in this State.

Try as they will, the leaders of the movement cannot conceal the motive which impels them to commit these extraordinary and unusual offenses against the social organization. Their appeal, stripped of the camouflage of weasel words, is an insult to every father in the land and a reproach to every citizen who loves justice, does mercy and walks humbly with his God. This man composes the majority of the voters of the State.—*Cincinnati Enquirer*.

## WAR AND ANTI-WAR SUFFRAGISTS

**T**HE suffrage street meetings were begun last night. Women's part in the war, their great and various service to the Government, will be dwelt upon by the speakers. That service and that part, nobly proportionate to women's patriotism and capacity for sacrifice, are to be urged as reason for giving them the ballot. Since, however, the work of women for the United States is shared by the multitude of women who are opposed to woman suffrage, the ballot would be a punishment to them instead of a "reward," if the privilege of voting is a gift or premium.

Meanwhile, there is an active variety of suffragists that does not regard war or peace from a patriotic or American point of view. The socialist suffragists, women and men, are getting ready to disseminate "literature." They, too, are to hold daily meetings. They belong to a party dedicated to pacifism, to a German peace, a party of extreme opposition to the war, which it has officially declared unjustifiable, "even on the plea that it is a war in defense of American rights or American honor." The German submarine policy was not an interference with American rights, the so-called American socialists say, but only interference with the opportunity of "certain groups of capitalists to coin money out of the blood and suffering of our fellow-men."

"We brand the declaration of war by our Government," the platform adopted by the socialists at St. Louis last April says, "as a crime against the people of the United States and against the nations of the world." There never was a more unjustifiable war, according to the majority of socialists. They have pledged themselves to "continuous, active and public opposition to the war through demonstrations, mass petitions and all other means" within their power. They pledged themselves to labor for the repeal of all conscription laws. The Socialist Party, according to the pamphlet, "The Socialist Party Platform," published at the national headquarters in Chicago, "urges upon the workers in the mines and forests, on the railways and ships, in factories and fields, the use of their economic and industrial power by refusing to mine the coal, to transport soldiers, to furnish food or other supplies for military purposes."

It is to aid this precious program that the socialists want woman suffrage. These allies may be as troublesome as the picketers to the disreputable suffragists who have given up other war work for the greater war work of persuading a stolid public to vote for the suffrage amendment.—*New York Times*, Sept. 13.

**T**HE House on Monday, September 24th, decided to appoint a committee on woman suffrage instead of leaving the question in the hands of the Committee on Judiciary. The vote was by no means a test vote on the question of suffrage itself, for many members who have openly declared themselves against suffrage voted for a separate committee, in order that no cry of "unable to obtain justice" could be raised by the women who assail Congress for adverse action on their demands for a vote. The majority was far below the two-thirds necessary for passing a suffrage amendment. The purpose of the advocates of the new committee was to organize a

committee packed for "the cause"—and many men were drawn into the mess of a special committee who will not be drawn into voting for the Anthony amendment when it shall be brought before Congress. But will the formation of such a committee really advance the cause of suffrage? The Judiciary Committee had already considered the question and decided on an unfavorable report. The crisis called for quick action—a repetition of the Maine defeat stared the suffragists in the face, and they left no stone unturned to stir suffragist members of Congress to immediate action. By arguments and threats the militant women urged the men from suffrage States to take the matter out of the hands of the present committee and do their level best to get a packed committee in favor of suffrage. They want action in Congress delayed until they are certain that a committee of hand-picked men all on the side of suffrage can be organized. They have secured the delay, but whether they will be able to secure a packed committee in their favor will not be known till the personnel of the committee is announced. Whether they have gained any permanent advantage is quite another matter.

Commenting on the undesirability of a special committee, Judge Webb of North Carolina said: "You want to pack the committee. The last vote in the House showed a majority against woman suffrage. The object of this resolution is to get a committee which will report against the wishes of a majority and it ought not to be done. If you don't pack the committee you are going to get into more hot water than you are now."

Said Congressman Walsh of Massachusetts: "The question is whether we are to take action which will seem to yield to the demands of some iron-jawed angels who have been picketing the gateways to the Executive mansion and flaunting in the face of the Chief Magistrate of this nation banners seemingly treasonable and seditious in character, and which if used by a poor workingman in attempting to get his rights would have speedily put him behind the bars for treason and sedition. These poor, bewildered, deluded creatures, after their disgusting exhibition, can thank their stars they wear skirts."

It was a noticeable incident of the debate that one of the staunchest supporters of the movement was London of New York, the only Socialist member of Congress. Apparently socialism and suffrage go hand in hand, which coupled with the notorious I. W. W. speech made recently by Miss Rankin on the floor of the House, furnishes food for the thoughtful.

MRS. RICHARDS.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Sept. 26th.



## FRANCHISE NO "REWARD" TO WOMEN WHO DO NOT WANT IT

TO THE EDITOR OF THE JOURNAL:

It seems a pity that Mr. Malone should feel obliged to resign his position as collector of the port of New York that he may be free to secure in the name of liberty and as a "reward" for the patriotism of the women who are sending their sons and husbands to fight for the freedom of the world, something which the majority of those same women look upon as a burden and a handicap. Mr. Malone sees only the point of view of the suffragists, but were he to look further into the question he would find that even those women who want to vote have never claimed more than a small percentage of the women of the country as sharing their views—somewhere about 10 or 11 per cent.—and of this number a startlingly large proportion are sending neither son nor husband out to fight because so many of them never had either. Moreover, the pacifist party, the greatest foe of patriotism, is recruited from the suffrage ranks.

Never before has a fight for suffrage been waged by a body, a majority of whom did not want it. It is not democratic and bears no relation, therefore, to the fights of bodies of men to win the vote. It would be funny were it not so serious to hear men like Mr. Malone and Col. Roosevelt advocating this change as a "reward" to those of us who are giving up our sons and our husbands, and devoting almost every waking moment to working for our country—so that we have now no time left to oppose this most insidious evil—although from long years of public work we feel assured that the possession of the power to vote would be a serious handicap in doing such work.

No American woman believes that the men of America are oppressing women—that in keeping suffrage from them they are jealous of their own prerogatives. The danger lies the other way, and we beg all American men to protect us and to rally to our help as have the men of Maine—only even more.

MRS. WILLIAM LOWELL PUTNAM.

—*Boston Journal*, Sept. 14, 1917.

## SUFFRAGE BY COERCION

THE argument made by the minority suffragists to the Senate Judiciary Committee that the right to picket the White House and annoy the President of the United States is essential to national liberty can hardly be expected to impress reasonable men and women.

Prohibitionists are honest in their belief that the manufacture of drinks containing alcohol should be banned by the Constitution. They have not deemed it necessary to liberty to picket the White House or the Capitol.

Protectionists who have every reason to believe that they are in the majority in

the United States are quite justified in feeling that the government should adopt a permanent protective tariff policy. They know the President disagrees with them, but they have not deemed it necessary to national liberty to maintain pickets at the White House to annoy the President with the question, "How long must we wait for a protective tariff?"

Heckling has never been recognized as a meritorious weapon of opposition. It has no standing in the political arena, where large issues and differences of opinion are settled. The suffragists have made their greatest headway in the States when they have relied upon logical arguments. Nowhere have they succeeded by coercion. Neither the American Government nor the American people can be bullied into a surrender of honest convictions.

The President's whole time is occupied with measures to make America effective in the war. He should not be harassed.

—*Washington Post*.

## MALONE WILL BEAR WATCHING

DUDLEY FIELD MALONE, customs collector of New York port, has resigned in protest against President Wilson's action in not advocating the passage of the woman suffrage amendment by Congress.

Mr. Malone apparently has been more obsessed with the suffrage issue than with that other question of more or less importance—how shall we win the war and at the same time preserve tranquillity at home?

At a time when a question incomparably surpassing any other that has come up for settlement since the Civil War is to be decided by the arbitrament of arms, it is rather strange that all the special cults, the suffragists, the prohibitionists and others consider it a good time to press their demands upon the government.

President Wilson feels that these controversial questions should be put aside until after the war and in this Congress has practically agreed with him. If they have been waiting for many years they can well afford to wait a little longer. The problems of the war are of such overpowering importance that any person with a grain of common sense will see the wisdom of putting aside everything else that can wait so that all the attention and all the energies of the people may be directed to the preservation of the nation against foreign aggression and the overthrow of the autocratic powers which threaten the liberty of the world.

Dudley Field Malone by his action shows that he sees no farther than his nose, and it would not be surprising to find him donning kilts or even petticoats and joining the coterie of stupid asinine pickets who keep pestering President Wilson and disgracing alike their sex and the nation by their mulish, vixenish exhibition.

Has Dudley Field Malone thought of his duty in seeking to render service in this war? Not so far as we have heard. If he had any idea of so doing, he would not have taken a step that tends to embarrass the President and to give aid and comfort to the enemies of his country. Dudley Field Malone has marked himself as a man who will bear watching until the end of the war.—*Lowell Sun*.

## TWIN PRODUCTS OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE

OUT in "emancipated" Chicago the enfranchised suffragists raised a loud pean of victory when their candidate for Mayor, William Hale Thompson, was elected, and promptly "pointed with pride" to their work. Now it is stated that Thompson's anti-conscription, anti-war, anti-Uncle Sam, anti-everything-except-aiding-the-Kaiser policy is assumed not only to catch all the Kaiserphile, slacker and coward vote, but also to retain the support of the Women's Peace party, Jane Addams, and the women who did not raise their boys to be soldiers.

The Hon. Jeannette Rankin, Congresswoman from Montana, is still more directly the glorious result of suffragettism—the solonette who sobbed hysterically at the prospect of war, and voted for peace at any price, but who, the other day, made a speech in Congress defending that meek, pacific and sweet-scented organization, the Industrial Workers of the World, just now engaged in trying to bring on strikes and riots and foment as much discord and trouble as possible for the nation in the midst of the greatest war in its history.

We wonder if all those ladies who expect to see the regeneration of the world when all the women get the vote are filled with pride over the two beauteous products of women's emancipation and enfranchisement. We would suggest that the next Presidential ticket of the Women's party should be Rankin and Thompson.—*Baltimore Evening Sun*.

A New York woman states that she had intended to give one dollar a month to the Red Cross, but has changed her mind, and will give that amount each month to the pickets at the White House. The lady from New York would do well to make another shift, and come back into line for the Red Cross. That organization is doing noble work to save the country, while the pickets try to destroy it, by traitorous banners, as an example of disloyalty.

Speaking of pickets, and the persistence they show in being jailed, someone said to me this week: "Why those women would hang onto the coat tail of a hoodlum and force him to drag them across the street, rather than not play the part of a martyr in the eyes of the public. They cry for a jail sentence, just as a baby cries for a lollypop."



## PICKET RAPS OTHERS

**B**RANDING her fellow-pickets as revolutionists and anarchists, Mrs. Mark Jackson, Baltimore picket, who was released from Occoquan under bond after serving three days of her sentence, to-day denied charges that the pickets were kept on a starvation diet, were served tainted meat and subjected to dangerously insanitary conditions, and declared that any difficulties that the suffs encountered in Occoquan were due entirely to bad behavior on their part.

Mrs. Jackson further alleged that when she expostulated with her fellow prisoners for their practice of breaking every rule of the institution, she was viciously attacked by five of them, was struck, had her hair pulled and only escaped from her assailants when a colored woman serving a sentence at Occoquan ran to one of the officials of the institution for assistance. In view of the charges against the administration of Occoquan, which Mrs. Jackson denies, the Board of Charities of Washington recommended to the Board of District Commissioners that there be an official investigation, pending the outcome of which Superintendent Wittaker be suspended without prejudice.

## DISORGANIZING ELEMENT, SHE SAYS

"From the very moment we entered the institution my colleagues were a disorganizing element," said Mrs. Jackson. "They began by objecting to the prison clothes. And let me say that the clothes that were given us were clean and comfortable, and since it was a rule of the institution that all prisoners wear the required uniform, we had no legitimate quarrel with our garments. We were told at first we were not to communicate with the other prisoners. Immediately my colleagues made it their business to talk to other prisoners. They attempted to pass notes to suffragists confined in another building; they even spent their time at the windows talking in sign language to those in the other buildings.

"The rule of silence was enforced in the dining room. My colleagues not only talked at meals, but when they were prevented from talking they hummed. Far from being kept awake at night by the cries of the other prisoners, as Miss Lucy Branham is said to have stated she was kept awake, the only noise that was to be heard in our dormitory was the riot made by my colleagues, who called out to one another continually and talked until well into the night in defiance of dormitory rules. They acted like little girls at boarding school, except that their misbehavior was consciously pernicious. They did a thousand and one things to annoy the matron, and some of the things which they did will not bear repetition. I could not stand it. I was willing to suffer for the cause, I expected to suffer for it. But those women with whom I was confined had lost sight of the cause. They had lost sight of justice and right and even decency. Their minds were

so distorted by constant dwelling upon the political injustice that is worked upon us that they themselves had fallen into their own net.

## WHAT CAUSED ATTACK

"At last I said these things to them. I had expostulated with them from time to time, and was regarded as a turn-coat. They spent their time talking—not suffrage, but anarchy pure and simple. I said to them, 'You are not against the political injustice under which we labor in your frame of mind. You are against law and order and right and decency itself.' It was then that they attacked me."

Mrs. Jackson commented upon the statement that Miss Branham is saving worms which she found in her food in a bottle, saying that the food which was served her at Occoquan was clean, never wormy, that the meat was excellent and well cooked, that there was plenty of excellent milk to drink and that the portions served the prisoners far from being starvation measure, as the pickets claim, were so generous that only a hard-working woman could be expected to consume one. Mrs. Jackson told of an instance in which one of her colleagues turned loose with a volley of profanity when she protested against the constant breaking of the institution's rules. The colored prisoners, she said, complained to the matron that, whereas they were severely punished when they swore, the suffs were immune from punishment for such language.

## OTHER PICKETS OBJECTED

"But do not think that I was the only suffrage picket who was released from Occoquan for refusing to countenance such behavior. There were others, though the National Woman's party headquarters has kept it as quiet as possible. I believe in the cause of the pickets still, but I cannot identify myself with the group of fanatics which has the administration of their cause. My memories of the three days I spent at Occoquan are horrible to me, not for any hardship I had to endure, but because of the revelation of the real self of women with whom I have been working."—*The Evening Sun*, Baltimore, Sept. 29, 1917.

## THREE REPORTS ON OCCOQUAN

**I**S Occoquan, the retreat for petty law-breakers which the city of Washington maintains across the Potomac in Virginia, a model of its kind or is it worse than the punitive institutions of darkest Russia during the darkest days of Romanoff rule? Miss Vera Samardin, formerly of somewhere in Russia, but now residing in Baltimore, after giving Occoquan the lookover, writes to the Russian Ambassador asking aid for her sister who is a suffragist picket that refused to pay the fine and is doing thirty days' time. Incidentally Miss Samardin draws a parallel between Occoquan and Russian prisons which classifies Washington's workhouse as worse than anything in

the land she has abandoned. She says her sister is denied free access to books and other "implements" of study; she is obliged to eat "coarse and unpalatable food served the criminal inmates"; it is alleged also that the picketing sister "has a constant headache from hunger."

There happens to be two other recent reports upon conditions at Occoquan which are from sources that should command respect and confidence. Congressman Linthicum has taken considerable interest in the welfare of the pickets sent to Occoquan and has made a visit of inspection to the capital workhouse. The place reminded the Congressman of "a mountain sanatorium for tuberculosis patients." The sleeping quarters are "like dormitories in girls' schools." Everything was scrupulously clean, the food wholesome and sufficient. It is a prison, of course, but, as the Maryland Congressman sees it, a prison that makes the punishment fit the crime gently, amiably. Mrs. Mark Jackson of Baltimore, who served three days at the Washington workhouse for White House picketing, finds no fault whatever with conditions at Occoquan. She thinks the pickets went to the workhouse, which is a farm of 2,600 acres, with their minds set to make trouble. "They did a thousand and one things to annoy the matron and some of the things will not bear repetition." And now is Occoquan the best or the worst of punitive institutions?—*Baltimore Star*.

## THE NEW MAN

**T**O THE EDITOR OF THE TRIBUNE.

SIRS In this morning's New York *Call* (Socialist organ) we are told: "Malone is an ardent believer in equal rights for women and the husband of a suffragist. He is a new man in his attitude toward women."

For the benefit of those who are not acquainted with the ideal characteristics of the "new man," will you permit me to quote from the book "What Women Want," by the eminent feminist, Beatrice Forbes-Robertson Hale, in her chapter on "The New Man":

"At present in the whole world there are only a few new men. Their numbers are increasing yearly, but still fall far short of the new woman. \* \* \* Every male instinct of domination and sovereignty has to be bred out of the individual before he can attain the status of the new man and be a fit mate for the new woman. The new man has to unlearn those deep-rooted habits and instincts of sex. The important fact for women to realize is that this nation \* \* \* is the nation where the new man is most rapidly developing."

Perhaps New York is luckier than it guessed in the first shock of its bereavement.

CHARLOTTE E. ROWE.

YONKERS, N. Y., Sept. 12, 1917.

—*New York Tribune*, Sept. 14, 1917.



"AN anti-suffragist asks, 'Does Miss Rankin suggest added strength and wisdom at a time when both are needed in the councils of the State and nation?' Let us answer her question by asking another, 'Would you swap Miss Rankin to-day if you knew she was to be replaced by a LaFollette or a Stone?' And just how proud are you of the man mayor of Chicago, 'Bill' Thompson? If Miss Rankin ever proves to be as poor a representative as any of these we'll eat crow."

The above was sent to us by a friend, who asked what we thought about it. In reply we can truthfully say:

No, we would not swap Miss Rankin for anyone else. She is too good an example of the way not to do things. But if Miss Rankin were to be swapped, and perhaps she should be in the interests of sound government, we would not want her swapped for a LaFollette or a Bill Thompson, or any other representative of suffrage hysteria.

Mr. LaFollette has always been the suffragists' one best bet in the U. S. Senate. He has been their most earnest defender and constant supporter. His wife has toured the country year after year in behalf of suffrage. His daughter Fola, who is a leading feminist and so ashamed of her marriage that she will not adopt her husband's name, is a constant speaker and worker for the suffrage cause, as well as one of the founders and officers of the People's Council. No! Such a swap as that would be a bad cure for an existing evil, something like the case of Mark Twain, who was suffering from a cold in the head. As there was no doctor within twenty miles he sent for a veterinary nearby. The latter told him that he could not cure a cold, but thought he could turn it into the blind staggers, and he was death on blind staggers.

Nor would we swap Jeanette for "Bill" Thompson, or for "Bill" Stone, or for any other pacifist suffragist now in Congress. We do not need more of this sort of thing; we need less of it. With woman suffrage we might expect to see a Senate and House composed of Rankins, LaFollettes, Thompsons and Stones, and it is well to remember that "Bill" Thompson owes as much to the women voters as Jeanette Rankin. Sixty-two per cent. of the women voting in Chicago on the day of his election voted for him.

#### WOMAN SUFFRAGE

THE proposition to give women the suffrage in Maine was defeated in that State the other day on a referendum by an overwhelming majority, notwithstanding the recent advocacy of the cause by President Wilson and strenuously urged by ex-President Roosevelt. President Wilson's attitude has been known since the day

he voted for suffrage in New Jersey, but having declared that it is and should be a State issue this influence has been that of a private citizen whose opinion on a purely academic question is worth no more than any other intelligent man who has given it study and who has conscientious convictions touching it as a result of his studies and his investigations.

Mr. Roosevelt, with his usual impetuosity has sought to make it a "mother's" issue, heedless of the fact that there are many more mothers in the country just now who oppose the suffrage than there are those who favor it. It is a very misleading cry, for it need hardly be said that if the mothers of the country were, with anything like unanimity, demanding the suffrage they would get it; it is because so many of them are opposing it or who are indifferent to it that the electors are turning it down, Maine being the latest to strike a very nearly fatal blow.

The issue was made in Maine that "liquor" was opposed to suffrage because it was afraid of the woman vote, but notwithstanding that the opposition was exemplary. It means that for the present, at least, the question must await the settlement of the war. This and all other diverting and distracting issues must not be allowed to interfere to divide public sentiment until the world has been made safe for it. The President has set the public a fine example by emphasizing the fact that this is a purely local question and must not be allowed to enter national politics, especially now when the public mind must be directly and undividedly centered in the winning of the war.—*The Daily Times, Chattanooga, Tenn., Sept. 14.*

ONE Maine woman has said: "We had nothing to help us out, yet we won two to one. We had only our own justice in the cause; not half of the organization they had, not half the speakers, for we hadn't the money to get speakers with. The President of the United States issued a request to his followers to vote for it; the most powerful man in the country, Colonel Roosevelt, issued a request for his friends to vote for it; the Governor of this State laid down the rules of his party (Republican) to vote for it, yet in spite of all that, we carried the day \* \* \* if it is ever forced on us again we will again win with hands down."

Now, just see what comes of letting women juggle with figures! As we all know the Maine election went against suffrage by a vote of almost two to one, yet the *Woman Citizen* of September 15th, says, "About 32,000 voted for the amendment and about 18,000 against it." A complete reversal of the correct figures, but it made prettier reading from a suffragist's point of view.

#### THE UNQUENCHABLE SUFFRAGISTS

TO the Editor of *The Tribune*:

Sir: Among the several points of similarity between the suffragists and the Kaiser are the periodical statements issued by their leaders explaining, in effect, that they are delighted with the results of defeat; that the defeat demonstrates the splendid science of their generals, the weakness of their enemies, the unconquerable strides of their army, and that their latest repulse proves anew their invincible power.

This attitude of magnificence, of cool contempt of the world's verdict, of sheer braggadocio, seems particularly out of place in America these days. Fortunately, no American man has shown signs of the mentality which is dragging Germany to its doom. It is the part of wisdom, however, for us to take note of the fact that certain persons in our country are victims of the exaggerated ego that does not know the meaning of repudiation.—*New York Tribune.*

MRS. JOHN A. CHURCH.

New York, Sept. 14, 1917.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912, OF THE WOMAN'S PROTEST, published monthly at New York, N. Y., for October 1, 1917.

STATE OF NEW YORK } ss.  
COUNTY OF NEW YORK }

Before me, a notary in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Miss Minnie Bronson, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says she is the editor of THE WOMAN'S PROTEST, and that the following is, to the best of her knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are: Publisher: The National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, 80 Lafayette Street, New York City.

Editor: Miss Minnie Bronson, 1621 K Street, Washington, D. C.

Managing Editor: Miss Minnie Bronson, 1621 K Street, Washington, D. C.

Business Managers: None

2. That the owners are: National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, 80 Lafayette Street, New York City, and 1621 K Street, Washington, D. C.

Mrs. Jas. W. Wadsworth Jr., President, 800 16th Street, Washington, D. C.

Mrs. Robert Lansing, Secretary, 1328 18th Street, Washington, D. C.

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3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent. or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are:

None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

MISS MINNIE BRONSON.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this twelfth day of October, 1917.

CHARLES EDGAR,  
Notary Public No. 1384, Queens County.  
[SEAL] Certificate filed in New York County, No. 37  
Register's Office, No. 7055.  
My commission expires March 30, 1919.



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